

[Sh. Zainal Abedin]

rupees per acre which is quite a difficult proposition.

Besides, the ash deposited in the Kangloi river has inflated the river-bed at a stretch of 10 kms reducing the capacity of the river to contain water. Hence people are apprehensive that due to this diminishing capacity of the river they would have to experience recurrence of floods in future affecting extended area of cultivable land and hitting hard larger number of farmers if measures for removal of the ash are not taken expeditiously.

I would, therefore, urge upon the Central Government to bear the financial liability of removing the accumulated ash from the affected land also to adopt measures to check the recurrence of floods.

- (viii) **Need to reconsider the proposal to form Mahanagar Telephone Nigams in Madras and Calcutta and review the continuation of it in Bombay and Delhi.**

SHRIVIJAY NAVALPATIL (Erandol): It is understood that the Government is considering formation of Mahanagar Telephone Nigams for Madras and Calcutta on the lines of M.T.N.L. at Delhi and Bombay. The main source of revenue for Telecom Department is from metropolitan cities. The surplus income generated from here is spent on development and expansion of telephone network in rural areas. The compartmentalization of telecom services in M.T.N.L. will be dangerous and the development of telephone services in rural areas and small towns will suffer.

The salaries paid to MTNL employees will be disproportionately higher as compared to salaries paid to the different employees working in the rural areas in difficult climatic conditions. Moreover, because of extra spending on salaries and five star office culture can expect very small surplus income from MTNL. If survey is conducted

it will be observed that the improvement in services in Delhi and Bombay are not due to MTNL's extra efficiency. The improvement can only be attributed to the automatic and multifarious work of electronic telephone exchanges.

Therefore, I urge upon the Minister of Communication to reconsider the proposal of forming MTNLs for Madras and Calcutta and further to review seriously the continuation of MTNL at Bombay and Delhi.

12.50 hrs

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS-*CONTD.*

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The House will now take up further discussion on the President's Address moved by Shri P.M. Sayeed.

Shri K.V. Thomas to continue.

PROF. K.V THOMAS (Ernakulam): Sir, the present Congress Government, which came to power eight months back, inherited an economic structure which was completely in shackles and a political system which was in chaos. Moreover, the global political scenario showed that many of the Communist and Socialist countries are disintegrating under the new pressure of freedom and independence. Our time tested friend, Soviet Union, withered away into small republics. So, these changes, in the global political system, have its impacts on the political and economic system of our country.

The ever lowest foreign exchange reserve, the spiralling rate of inflation, the skyrocketing of the prices of essential commodities put a formidable task before the new Government. The turbulent situation created by Shri V.P. Singh's Reservation Policy, communal violence and tension prevailing in many parts of the country, escalating terrorists and secessionist activities in

Punjab and Kashmir, ULFA movement in Assam, LTTE activities in Tamil Nadu, Naxalite movement in Andhra Pradesh posed a serious threat to our economic set up.

Now, when we analyse the functioning of the new Government after eight months, we have to look into this background. This Government has taken a number of economic measures. I would like to quote from the speech of the hon. Prime Minister, which he made to the nation on 9th July, 1991. He said:

"My objective is to make India truly self-reliant. Self-reliance is not a mere slogan for me. It means the ability to pay for our imports through exports. My motto is trade and not aid".

Similarly, when we made the new changes in the economic system, we have been following in letter and spirit the Congress manifesto. What does the Congress manifesto say on economy? It says and I quote:

"The congress will restore fiscal balances in the budgetary system by drastically reducing wasteful expenditure, rationalising non-development expenditure and expanding the revenue base of the Government particularly through a lenient, more dynamic and profit-oriented public sector. Deficit financing will be restricted to manageable limits."

So, when the new government had in its mind the new industrial policy, it was following in letter and spirit the manifesto of the Congress Party.

Now, what are the main thrusts of the new industrial policy? We can find out that the tiger of the license raj which was roaming around the Udyog Bhavan, has been driven out. We allowed the free flow of foreign technology and expertise. And what is the result? The result is that the rate of inflation which was 16.7 per cent has been brought down to 12 per cent. The prices of essential commodities which were going up every-

day, have been either stabilised or have been brought down.

I come from the State of Kerala where we have been very unhappy over the increase in the prices of rice, edible oil and pulses. Today when I am before this House, I can proudly say that the prices of rice, edible oils and pulses have come down. So, a sign is there in the open market that either the prices can be stabilised or they can be brought down.

When the new Government came to power, the foreign exchange position was so meagre that we could run the Government just for fifteen days. From that position, the foreign exchange has increased to Rs. 11,000 crores. The present budget is also a new line on the thinking of the Government. The decision to allow five kilograms of gold to be brought by the Indians working abroad, is a very good decision. It will help in two ways. One is that we can control gold smuggling and the second is that the blood that is being sweated by the Indians abroad is properly rewarded so that when they come back, they can bring some gold which will be useful to them at a later stage.

Similarly, the decision to have gold bonds, to simplify the taxation structure and to give more power to the co-operative sector are the decisions which have been welcomed by the people.

I am unhappy that some of my Left friends who are sitting outside have been always been contributing their opinion so that a feeling goes out that this Government is controlled and dictated by IMF and World Bank. I cannot understand why we should not get aid and assistance from IMF and World Bank. We are one of the founder members of the IMF and World Bank and we have all the right to receive necessary assistance from these two banking institutions in the proper manner.

13.00 hrs.

Then, coming to be the conditions, I may say that the hon. Prime Minister and the

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hon. Finance Minister have, more than a dozen times, assured this House that we will never compromise with the prestige of the country.

What we find now? The Soviet Union has whithered away. Many of its Republics are now trying to get membership in I.M.F. and World Bank.

After the presentation of the Budget, these Budget proposals have been welcomed by the people and if my friends again say that it is a World Bank or I.M.F. Budget, I think, tomorrow the people of this country are going to say three cheers to I.M.F. and World Bank.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The hon. Member may continue after lunch break.

13.01 hrs

The Lok Sabha then adjourned for Lunch till Fourteen of the clock.

The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at seven minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER in the Chair]

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS- CONTD

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Prof. K.V. Thomas will continue his speech now.

PROF. K. V. THOMAS: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, coming to the labour policy of the present Government, I would like to stress that the policy followed by Narasimharaoji is what is said in the Congress manifesto. The Congress manifesto says:

" The congress steadfastly believes

that labourers should not just bear the pains of growth, but should also enjoy its gains in a just measure."

The present Government has constituted a tripartite committee to look into the new industrial policy; BIRF is given a new facelift so that both the private sector and the public sector are restructured in such a manner that labourers bore the least pain. The National Renewal Fund has been constituted to help the labour who may suffer during the process of restructuring.

Coming to the political side, you may remember that during the period of V.P. Singh's Government, a reservation policy was brought and in the streets of Delhi and Pune, we had seen our young students fighting against each other and the people of the country were being divided on the basis of caste. Now, the present reservation policy of Narasimha Raji's Government has completely kept the interests of the backward community and at the same time, the economically backward people are given adequate protection by giving 10 per cent reservation.

Sir, Babri Masjid-Ram Janam Bhoomi issue was a burning issue which even threatened the existence of the nation. On this issue also, the Congress party has followed the path which Panditji, Indiraji and Rajivji had followed. On this issue the President says:

" A close watch is being kept on the situation arising out of Ramjanambhoomi- Babari Masjid dispute. Government has enacted legislation to maintain the *status quo* of the other places of worship as existed on August 15, 1947. Action has been completed to set up a foundation for communal harmony to take care of children of families affected by communal violence."

Congress Manifesto says:

" The Congress is committed to finding a negotiated settlement on this issue."

which fully respects the sentiments of both the communities involved. If such a settlement cannot be reached, all parties must respect the order and verdict of the court. The Congress-I is for the construction of temple without dismantling the mosque."

The present government is following the letter and spirit of this Manifesto.

Coming to communal violence, this Government has taken a number of measures. Composite Rapid Action Force to quell communal riots has been constituted.

Now the elections in Punjab have been held. LTTE activities in Tamil Nadu have been contained with the able support of the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu.

Kashmir issue is still a burning issue. We have to find a political solution. At the same time, we have given adequate warning to Pakistan that any action from their side will be met very sternly. Naxalite movement in A.P. is curtailed and the Cauvery water dispute is being discussed politically for favourable settlement.

So, where does India stand today? India is self-sufficient in food, clothing and a number of consumer goods, medicines and a host of other things. India can set up its own steel plants, sugar factories, fertilizer projects, petro chemical units, oil refineries and power plants.

At this juncture, I want to make a request to my hon. friends sitting on this side. Economic stability means political stability. Political stability in a democracy country like ours means, the ruling party and the parties in the Opposition have to face issues on consensus, have to face issues on merit.

Sir, in this House when I came in 1984, BJP had a strength of only two. Today after nine years, their strength has gone up to 112 or 114. I put this question to my friends in the Left Front. They have been always telling that they fight against BJP. Their fight against BJP is by fighting against the Congress-I. Left Front members are just like vegetables

which grow downward. They are stagnating. They do not grow. They do not fight against the communal force. They fight against us so that the communal forces are coming.

Within the House, there has been an allegation that we are soft to BJP. Sir, this Government is a minority Government. We should get the help of the recognised Opposition party. BJP has become the recognised Opposition Party.

What has happened in this House. In this House, we are fighting on on-issues. In 1989, the entire year was spoiled on Bofors, Fair fax and on submarines. 1989 elections were fought and in that one major issue was Bofors. I still remember the day when Mr. V.P. Singh Government fell. On that day when the confidence motion was moved and after Mr. V.P. Singh finished his speech, hon. Mr. Advani was sitting on this side. He asked a pertinent question to Mr. V.P. Singh: We fought the last elections on one major issue, Bofors. You have been in power for 11 months. Now your tenure is over. Please lay on the Table of the House all the relevant documents on Bofors. Mr. V.P. Singh did not agree. But again in this House you are coming to Bofors. Why are you coming on this non-issue.

So, my request to my hon. friends is let us fight on merits. Here the hon. Prime Minister has taken a standard front. It is not because we are minorities. Even when we are in a majority, on all major issues, we have taken a standard front.

We are responsible to the people of this country. There are 83 million people who depend on us. Many of our friends are sitting in the verandah. Some of them are sitting in the Boat Club. If this is your attitude on national problems, you will be permanently sitting in the verandah. (Interruptions). Let us have constructive attitude. We have got problems. Many issues are there. Poverty is there. We are going to take action on all these issues. Unemployment problem is there.

Our State is one of the States where

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there is statutory rationing. We have been getting rice at subsidised rate. Now the subsidy is withdrawn and Kerala Government has to get its own additional finance of about Rs. 100 crores. The State of Kerala should be given adequate financial assistance and subsidy.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat): We will support it.

PROF. K.V. THOMAS: Similarly, in regard to literacy campaign, we are 100 per cent literate. But we have to continue with the literacy campaign. We have to get some subsidy for literacy for campaign.

Kerala is backward in industrial development. It is the most unemployed State. More industries have to be set up in Kerala. Even though there is labour unrest in Kerala, I can firmly say that labour in Kerala is an organised sector and it is a very well-disciplined sector. Wherever there is a long-term agreement, we have followed it in letter and spirit.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur): What about the dispute between Nambodiri and Antony?

PROF. K.V. THOMAS: What about the dispute between Sankaran Nambodiripad and Surjeet? Do you know that there is a big dispute between E.M.S.-Nambodiripad and Surjeet? Surjeet himself has given a statement two days back. (*Interruptions*).

Kerala is a small and beautiful State. It is far away from Delhi. Even though 2,500 KM away from the capital, we have been neglected. Our request is that our interest should be protected.

With these words, I support the motion of thanks to the President for his Address.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the contents of the President's Address prove that

we were fully justified in boycotting?? the Joint Session of parliament because we did not wish to participate in the ritualisation of a very solemn occasion which has the sanctity of Constitution behind it.

If one goes through the Address, one hears the voice, not of the President of a vibrant and progressive India, but the voice of a President of a country which has lost its self-reliance and self-dignity. That is why, the President of this country was made to indulge in banal platitudes and sterile homilies without any indication of any independent and pro-people thinking or, of any basic policy formulation in the whole Address.

Sir, I am very sorry to say that the Address is the product of a Government which is in bondage, a Government which is on leash led by the nose by the combine of Bush, Camdesus and Preston who have become the arbiters of our nation. That is why we find that the Address does not enthuse the nation but condemns the people compromises their dignity and ridicules their commitment to self-reliance. This Narasimaha Rao Government, now headed by a sober-gentleman-turned arrogant within a sphere of a few months, will go down in the history as the one which has mortgaged our country to the imperialist financial marauders for some tainted lucre. Our economic sovereignty and national prestige have become negotiable and we are projected to the whole worlds as cringing supplicants to those agencies whose imperialist and capitalist design so far as the Third World countries are concerned is very well known. They are more anxious to maintain their hegemony than to come to the real rescue of the developing and the Third World countries. That is why very serious problems faced by the ordinary people, common people of the country not the highest income brackets of this country like the steep and unabated price rise of essential commodities have received a tongue-in-the cheek reference (about six lines in an Address covering 19 pages while 16 lines have been devoted for the fulsome praise for the Bush and Company's so-called humanitarian philanthropic and democratic pretensions.

Sir, it is significant that we do not find any mention in this Address of a very serious development relating to our Defence forces. We cannot but express our gravest concern at the agreements which have been made by the Indian Government behind the back of this Parliament for military collaboration with the U.S.A. without taking the people and the Parliament into confidence. It is reported that a Joint Executive Committee has been set up for Army-to-army cooperation which envisages joint training programmes, exchange of army personnel and other forms of longstanding cooperation including the Joint Naval Exercises. According to us, the only purpose of such a collaboration when we do not have a common enemy is joint exercises are held against common enemies to serve their interests. This very collaboration can only be in the interests of the U.S.A. which wants to penetrate our Armed Forces and suborn its personnel for strategic interests. We demand the immediate scrapping of such brazenly irresponsible agreements entered into by the Government as they are bound to have great repercussions on our national integrity and our political sovereignty. It is a matter of concern there is neither any reference in the President's Address nor since this House has started its Budget Session the Ministers have come forward, the Prime Minister or the Defence Minister has not come forward to make a statement in the House on such very important issues. Over and above this, the current year's Budget has put the final nail in the coffin of the principle of self-reliance and mixed-economy which was the dream of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and which was adopted, by and large, as our national policy. But Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has become an inconvenient name to the Congress party. And Nehruvian economic policy is being projected as dirty words. (Interruptions)

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI (Deogarh): When he was alive, they were criticising him. And when he is dead and gone, we remember him and they appreciate him. (Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Compared to you he was a great man. And

Nehruvian economic policy is being projected as an anti growth concept. (Interruptions) We do not any longer hear that the public sectors occupy the commanding heights of our economy. This young man chenithala used to say that but now he has forgotten. But those who still believe in the same, in the primacy of the public sector are being dubbed as anti-nationals. Now to the Congress Party and to the Congress Government, market economy of the U.S. variety has become the *mantra* and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been given an indecent burial. Our objection to the Centre's economic policies so far has been against the tardy implantation of the principles of self-reliance. Our objection has been, so far, against the weakening of the public sector and the Congress Government's continuous pampering to a handful of monopolists and speculators in the country and perpetuating the miseries of the common people. But what has happened now? This Government has not only reversed the policy without any mandate from the people, without there being even a mention in the election manifesto, without having a Majority support from the people of this country but they have also changed the path of our economic growth or direction and they have adopted brazenly the capitalist path of market economy which will only multiply the miseries and sufferings of the common people. And it has already resulted in surrendering to the stranglehold of monopolists, foreign agencies and even compromising our ability to decide our own future.

Today, the Prime Minister's intervention was very significant. Why I say this is because he has become arrogant, he has become insensitive. He is very happy. (Interruptions)

SHRI SRIBALLAB PANIGRAHI: Because he disagreed with you, he became arrogant. (Interruptions)

SHRI CHINANDULAL CHANDRAKAR (Durg): He was expressing his views. But he says that he was arrogant. I do not think it was correct. Even if you interpret it in any way, please do not interpret it in a very wrong way. He has just expressed the views

[Sh. Chnandulal Chandrakar]

and feelings of the people of this country and all that (Interruptions)

SHRI MRUTYUNJAYA NAYAK (Phulbani): He called you as 'dada', what more respect do you expect from the Prime Minister? You must reciprocate that. (Interruptions)

SHRI SOMANTH CHATTERJEE: I will call in 'Pardada'. (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Let us not unnecessarily interfere. Let us hear him. When you have a chance you can rebut it.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: I said, I was unhappy. It was unexpected from Shri Narasimha Rao. (Interruptions)

SHRI P. C. THOMAS (Muvattupuzha): Let us wait for 40 years. Then they will say that Shri Narasimha Rao was the great person. (Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: He was very. He said that the people outside were very very happy with his Budget and with his economic policy. (Interruptions) According to the Prime Minister, people are praising this Budget sky high. But who are these people? It is *Washington Post*, a newspaper of the American imperialists, NRIs, FICCI, ASSOCHANM and the like. DR. Manmohan Singh is being projected as a messiah, who is supposed to have saved this country. But has the Budget been welcomed by the common people by the toiling masses? No they—the common people—considered the Finance Minister and the Prime Minister of our country as the messiahs of our financial doom and of economic perfidy, as the mortgager of this and of economic perfidy, as the of this country's prestige and dignity. We want to make it very clear that we can never be and we shall not be a party to this process of dismantling and defilement. We shall protest both here and out-

side. Only new Dr. Thomas was beseeching our support a little while earlier. We shall protest both inside and outside this House, on the streets, in the factories, in the fields and in every nook and corner of the country. We are giving this advance warning to them.

They are very happy also that some sarkari economists and some sarkari journalists are made to sing paeans of praise of the Budget. These people always do. They always praise the Government Budget, which ever is the Government and whichever is the Budget. They praised the Rajiv Gandhi's Budget and now they are criticising the Rajiv Gandhi's Budget and applauding Narsimha Rao's Budget. But nobody is able to deny the effect of the IMF and the World Bank conditionalities on the preparation of their Budget. And very significantly this Government deliberately kept suppressed from the people and this Parliament those documents which ultimately, they were forced to disclose by pressure of public opinion and opinion in the House. It had disclosed a very sorry, and serious state of affairs. I would request my hon. friends from the treasury benches not to make it a partisan issue and to please go through the documents very carefully for the sake of their Government only, if this temporary majority they wish to perpetuate. You may now ignore and you may play with the future of this country. That is why, in one of my earlier interventions, I had requested my very good friends from the treasury benches to please go through them. Please do not mortgage your conscience. This is not a matter of whip. When so many people are raising this question, please try to go through those documents and find out what commitments this Government has already had made. (Interruptions)

SHRI A. CHARLES (Trivandrum): We have gone through it.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: If knowing that, you are supporting them, then we have to get rid of you. If this Government was honest with regard to its economic policies, they would have disclosed the documents on their own. (Interruptions)

SHRI A CHARLIES: Sir, I am on a point of order. On the first page of the document, it has been very clearly laid down that it was a confidential document to be used in the office and in the event of its publication, prior approval of the World Bank has to be taken. So, that document was not presented here. When repeatedly they requested the hon. the Finance Minister, he said that he will place the entire records on the day of presentation of the Budget. But they insisted on the presentation and they were presented. We have gone through it. In para 97, there is only one word that in 1992-93 Budget, some structural adjustments will be made by the committees appointed by the Government. These are confidential documents.

MR. DEPUTY SEPAKER: There is no point of order. My request to the hon. Members is, frequent interference takes away hon. Member's time. Secondly subsequently it will lead to shortage of time. You will get time to rebut it. So kindly restrain yourselves.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Shri Charles' interruption, not intervention, has helped me. He has admitted that this country cannot disclose a document which is an agreement entered into until the big brother, the World Bank, gives permission to the Government to disclose the document to the Parliament. This is the state of affairs of this country.

We charge that this Government has compromised our economic sovereignty and this Budget is the faithful implementation of the fiat of the IMF and the World Bank. I am not today dealing with the Budget in detail. That will be dealt with when we come to the Budget discussions.

[Translation]

SHRI RAM PRAKASH CHAUDHARY (Ambala): I would like to know only one thing as to whom they have mortgage the country. Such things should not be said. You should not say such things. Can any one mortgage

his own country?

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: It is very very clear. We made that charge and repeat that charge on the floor of this House that the main Budget provisions were known to the World Bank IMF combine before they made known to this House.

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAH I (Deogarh): This is something they know last year also.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: No comment is necessary. When you get a chance you rebut it with greater force. Why do you interfere unnecessarily? Let us stop this temptation of making comments every now and then.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Somehow I am a little comforted to know that there is still some conscience left. They are feeling disturbed in their conscience. That is why they are interrupting me.

The Government's pretext of adopting this anti-people economic policy is that there has been a foreign exchange crisis. But we have never been told who is responsible for this crisis. It is their publication; not mine. The commercial borrowings from 1983-84 when they started in this country were Rs. 2,493 crores. In 1988-89 when the Congress Government came to an end it became Rs. 18,400 crores-commercial borrowings on short-term basis. The total liability on account of the Government, non-Government commercial borrowings, IMF liability, rose from Rs. 13,747 crores in 1980-81 to Rs. 80,135 crores during the Congress Government's rule. Who is responsible for this? This Government is shamelessly trying to say that every difficulty in our economic structure is only because of the two Governments, one of they supported. Here they put up a hopelessly minority Government. They did not even allow that Government to place its Budget. They say that Government is responsible and they have no responsibility. This is the

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sense of responsibility they have.

In 1991-92 the total debt servicing was estimated to be Rs. 11, 936 crores of which the share of commercial borrowings was Rs. 4,158 crores. It was 35% of the total debt servicing which means a debt trap. These are not my figures. Who is responsible for this and how are you trying to solve this? The only way they have chosen is to go on bended knees to the IMF and to the World Bank.

We had even opposed the '1981 approach' to the World Bank, when the present Rashtrapathi was the Finance Minister here. He had gone to the IMF to take loan. I would like to know as to what agreement was entered into then. Would you please disclose the 1981 agreement with IMF and the World Bank? We would like to know as to what were the conditionalities there. What has forced you to completely surrender your rights and completely bind your hands and feet, so far as our economic policies are concerned?

So far as the borrowings from the commercial banks are concerned, the solution was not to go to the IMF, but to restrict non-essential imports and to increase the exports. But, that was not the policy that was adopted.

What is the direction of the present plan? The present Deputy Chairman circulated some documents containing the outline of the Plan. It was said that the success of the plan depends on and it can only succeed if there is an increase in the export to the extent of 13.6 per cent every year. It is impossible to reach that. They are no longer making that forecast. Then, the Planning Commission itself says that the planning process will come to a halt. Who is responsible for this and what are the ways out? Is it only to go to the IMF and the World Bank? Is there no other way in this country? Is it for this that this country has been fighting, dismantling everything? What was the role of the Public sector when this coun-

try became independent and after that? Who came to the core sector? Not a single monopolist came to the core sector in this country. In the steel sector, in the oil sector, who were the people, who were the industrialists-friends of yours-who made investments? It was the public sector which came there and Jawaharlal Nehru realised that the public sector was the only panacea, the only way out. On the basis of his experience, he presented the Industrial Policy in the House in 1956, which the Congress party adopted. But, that Congress, of course, is dead and gone.

Now, with the help of the Soviet Union, we have Bhilai, we have Bokaro and we have Durgapur. So the agist steel concerns came up. The public sector undertakings like ONGC, Indian Oil Corporation, Steel Authority of India, etc. have helped this country to grow. With nascent democracy which was to develop under the trauma of partition and huge mass transfer of people from one place to another, the public sector has taken the role and now it is being ridiculed. Who is responsible for the mismanagement of the public sector? Today you are selling the shares of the public sector undertakings, of profitable concerns, to whom? To the multi-nationals and to the monopolists. They will come into the public sector which was grown up by the sweat and toil of the working class and the common people of this country. It is your return and it is the compliment which you are paying to the working class and to the public sector in this country. What is the provision made and what is the indication given in the President's Address as to how the price rise will be dealt with? Just a casual reference was made to that. Their manifesto - I hope they have not torn out page 25, because 25 is rather unfortunate for them says at page 25, that Congress is determined to roll back the prices to levels obtaining in July 1990 in case of diesel, kerosene, salt, edible oils, etc. Either that has been torn away or you have put ink on this. Page 26 is also the back of 25. Tearing of that page will help them. It is said;

* The Congress will create 10 million

new jobs per year and 100 million jobs by the end of the century."

Price has been rolled back. This is the wonderful performance of this Government. This is their manifesto. That is why I said yesterday that they all have been sold to *kabariwallas*. At least Dr. Thomas has kept one copy.

I don't have to say that the prices have not gone down. It has increased manifold unabated price increase. Inflation rate went up to 16 per cent. It is sometimes better that I use their own document to remind them. What is the increase in the price rise? So far as the issue prices are concerned, there is increase by this Government; common quality rice 30.4 per cent increase; fine quality 25.2 lesser because richer people take that and superfine still lesser 23.85 per cent. But the common rice is increased by 30.4 per cent by your administered increase; wheat 19.7 per cent increase; sugar 13.1 per cent increase. The wholesals prices index has gone up.

In 1991, this Government has been functioning. The annual rate of inflation has been 13.5 per cent for wholesale price index- the highest in the decade as the seasonal downturn in prices proved to be rather modest. Between April and December, the major portion of which this Government has functioned with the blessing of IMF, the rate of increase in prices stood 13.7 per cent compared to 9.3 per cent. Even Mr. Chandra shekhar performed better than you. In analysis of the trends in a monthwise rise in prices for 1991 shows inflation at 16.3 per cent which was the highest in September as compared to 12.2 per cent in June, etc. The rate of rise in prices for primary articles during the calendar year on a point-to-point basis has been estimated at 18.9 per cent. Over and above this what do we find? There has been a conscious increase during the inter-session period. Yes, the Food Minister is here or Civil Supplies Minister is here. They increased the administered prices. As I said, if there is increase in the issue prices, essential food articles such as rice, wheat sugar, etc-weakening of the

public distribution system in this country and the great fanfare of 1,700 blocks being brought under special PDS. That announcement was significantly made at Jaipur in the presence of their friend, the Chief Minister of Rajasthan.

The greatest misery of the common people today is there. The middle class is also getting alienated from them. Neither the budget nor the President's Address makes any provision as to how to contain the price rise, for less to bring it down. I thought, Mr., Kral Choudhury was better outside than having come and witnessing this non-performance of his Government. He is a very good friend of ours.

Another very serious situation which the country is facing, specially the common people, is the problem of unemployment. Sir, in 1951, number of persons who were unemployed were 3.29 lakhs. The wonderful Congress contribution to this country at the end of 1989 was 3.27 crores. This figure refers to the registered unemployed people. Therefore, whatever be the increase in population, it will go to the unemployment category. This is your wonderful achievement. All the recruits to the employment market will remain unemployed. This is your wonderful Achievement Sir, this is a very serious subject which we are discussing. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI P.C.CHACKO:(Trichur): How about the position in West Bengal (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: If that gives you comfort, then for your satisfaction, I am prepared to assume which is not correct

In March 1991, with the help of the Congress, the Chandra Shekhar Government's performance resulted in having 3,48,90,000 as registered educated unemployed persons, and what was the average number of vacancies notified during that period? It was 38,000. For one year, as I was calculating the figure comes to 33.48 lakhs against unemployed persons in the unemployment register in employment

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exchanges and only a maximum of 4.56 lakhs could be employed. What will happen to these unemployed people? What is the source of livelihood for these people? Where will they go? Can the agricultural sector or the industrial sector bear any further employment? From where will they earn their livelihood, Mr. Chennithala? Please tell us. I would like to know about it. And now, over and above, what is happening? We are told of employees being redundant, four lakhs of Railway employees are going to lose their jobs. Government offices are being closed and you are encouraging Exit Policy. You have not adopted a policy for reviving an single sick industry. The new modern hi-tech industries will provide very little employment to the ordinary people because they are highly mechanised and automatic machines are used, so far as we know. Then, where will these people go for jobs? What are you doing to help them to earn their livelihood through small scale industries? What entrepreneurial assistance are you giving them. Sir, over two lakhs of sick companies are in private sector about which they are so enamoured. Why so many private sector industries are closed or sick? What are you going to do to help these people and now, you are getting rid of employees of the public sector. You are sending the units to the BIFR for closure and winding up. But what will happen to the employees? What is the hoax about the national Renewal Fund? It is said that it will be for retraining and re-deployment. With all sincerity and seriousness, I am asking as to where will you redeploy them. What alternative training will you give them? How many people will you train with the amount in your Renewal Fund? For heaven sake, please tell us about this. What is the fate of those people who are unemployed who are not criminals or anti social elements?. They want to live a decent life with an ordinary amount and not crores of rupees. They want to look after their families and lead a decent life. Where will they get deployed? Please tell us so that we can inform them not to worry and this benign Government will give them jobs.

Sir, the Exit Policy has been thrust upon this country by the IMF. If you go through the history of Latin American countries which had gone to the IMF and the World Bank, you will find that exactly similar and identical words were used. We hear the very same words 'macro-economic policy', 'structural adjustments' and so on. This is the jargon that Dr. Manmohan Singh is using now and we heard every word before. Brazil, Peru and many other countries had to swallow these words. There was the Exit Policy too. Have you become completely blind and insensitive just for some foreign exchange? Have you given up your right to think and to decide for yourself? What will happen now? Even the Rasthrapatiji is being made to utter words, if I may say so, which are against the interests of the common people of this country. He says that there should not be any strike and there should not be any industrial action. People may lose their jobs and die of starvation. But they should not protest. Is this country a country of slaves or sheep or goats? That they silently starve and die and shall not protest against all this? This country will never accept an attempt by the Government to prohibit industrial action. It is not a charity from the Government. It has been earned by the working class through their struggle over a long period of time and they will never give up their right of industrial action to fight for their own rights.

Today we find that there is a very grave economic situation. Is it reflected in the President's Address? What is the policy statement that has been made in the Address as to how to solve this grave economic situation? Nobody is denying it. Even the Government is saying that there is a grave economic situation. But where is the reflection of that in the President's Address? Earlier, we were at least told that the address was prepared in a great hurry and they could not even think about it properly. But now, they had seven months of informed assistance from IMF also to prepare the President's address. But this is the position. This Address is nothing but a parchment in which ever thing that this country needs has been consciously omitted to be mentioned. Without meaning any disrespect to

Rastrapatiji, personally, I may say that it has become a useless document and it should be thrown into the wastepaper basket.

There has to be an alternate approach. We have suggested it many times. But who is listening? This government is under the bondage of the IMF and the World Bank. Were they listening? We have circulated an alternate proposal. They did not even have the courtesy to come and discuss with us or even to call us and discuss this alternate approach.

Now, what about land reform? Have you ever thought of bringing about land reforms in this country? We have suggested that without land reforms and without wider dispersal of ownership in industrial capital, without the use of a technology which is both modern and labour-intensive, a technology which will use labour and not replace it, we can never improve our economy. When we bring about this type of reforms, then and then alone, we can increase the purchasing power of the common people and then and then alone agricultural and industrial growth can follow on the basis of expansion of domestic market and not otherwise. But that is never an area to which they pay any attention.

Instead, we find that in the economic sector, this Government has launched an outright attack, a comprehensive attack on the public sector. Even the Parliament has not been taken into confidence when they took the decision with regard to 49 per cent disinvestment in the public sector. And this is one of the most dangerous policies. Then they have adopted the Exit Policy. With a sleight of hand, they dismantled the provisions of FER and MRTP in the inter-session period and the FERA has become a useless document. Now, they are supposedly thinking on the Dunkel proposals, which will bring ruin to the agriculturists of this country and drug industry in the country. But this government is thinking on those lines. Today we find it in the newspaper. It has been discussed in the other House also. The Minister has said that there are some positive features in the Dunkel proposal so far as the

agriculture sector is concerned. But, Shri Chidambaram has said that without discussing the matter in Parliament, the Government will not take any decision. But, Sir, we are hearing not a word about any action taken against any of these big industrial houses. Rs. 50,000 crores of blackmoney are circulating in this country. Is this not a pressure on our economy? Is there any step taken to unearth this blackmoney? On the other hand, we know what this Government has done. The ten industrial houses in this country have taken loans upto 31st March, 1991 from the following financial institutions:

IDBI	Rs. 1486 crores
IFCI	Rs. 553 crores
ICICI	Rs. 626 crores

The total comes to Rs. 2666 crores which is outstanding from these ten business or industrial houses to these important Governmental agencies. When the small scale sector or the medium scale sector go to these banks for the purpose of loans and advances, no money is made available for them. They are working overtime for the purpose of giving loans to these big industrial houses which have been allowed to remain unrealised for years and years.

Even the interest is not paid. What is the credibility of this Government or of this Party which has ruined this country by their misrule of over forty years?

What is the performance of the present Government-Shri Narasimha Rao's Government? Overnight, they have taken a somersault. Nobody is saying anything these days about Shri Rajiv Gandhi.

The overall rate of growth is minus 2.3 per cent. The GDP growth instead of 8 per cent, it is 2.5 per cent.

The overall rate of growth was minus 8 per cent from April to October. Foodgrains output has dropped by 1.5 per cent during this Government's regime. Agricultural pro-

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duction is stagnant. Population is increasing but agricultural production is not increasing. The Balance of Payments' position was a little difficult. I do not know whether they would have agreed to give us the copy of the World Bank Report but, we have somehow managed to get a copy of the Report. There, you will find that the only reason for going to World Bank was to get some foreign exchange for imports. Then, why this performance of our economy? Why industrial production is going down? Why agricultural production is going down? Why GDP is going down? What have you done for the last seven or eight months? This is the performance of this Government? We are told today by the Prime Minister that they have nothing to say and they are only showing their anger. When the prices have gone sky high, common people are very happy! If there are no jobs, common people are losing jobs who had jobs, the common people are very happy in this country!

Now, the Prime Minister is only reading FICCI's circulars not even the ordinary papers of this country. He has lost touch with the common people of this country. That is my fear. That is our misfortune. Probably, our Prime Minister is not allowed to think of his own until IMF and World Bank permits him to think.

If You come to the political situation in the country, what has happened to Punjab? How have you solved this problem? We are happy that some of our friends from Punjab are here, but have you solved the situation in Punjab?

Unfortunately, the outcome of the election will further aggravate the situation. No solution will be provided. We had requested repeatedly to involve the people of this country to bring them into the electoral process. You must announce a political package. You have Rajiv-Longowal Agreement. You have not implemented that Agreement. I do not know whether it was desired by the Chandigarh M.P. or not.

But the Rajiv-Longowal Agreement is not being given effect to. Their minority character they have somehow improved by 12 of our friends coming to that side. But that manoeuvring will not bring about peace in the State; and the country will have to pay a very heavy price.

The overwhelming majority of the rural population did not vote; only forces of separatism and terrorism have been encouraged. There have been also rigging in selected places. I am not mentioning Nandyal. It is enough to refer to Punjab for what has happened. The communal polarisation has taken place. We all want that peace should come back to Punjab; but this Government will not be able to do it. They have misutilised the situation for their partisan ends only to strengthen their position in Parliament. But Punjab is today almost torn asunder. There is an aggravation of the situation there. We would like to know from the Prime Minister what is his policy towards Punjab? How is this Government going to function in Punjab?

Today itself we saw in the paper that the situation has not improved an iota; on the other hand, the situation has become more complex and grave.

I wish well of the new Government. I have no quarrel with the new Government; but will they be able to function at all.

Mr. Narasimha Rao has chosen his friends; he has increased his numerical position here by the Punjab elections; and he knows there are friends here on the other side facing him. They will always come to his rescue.

We saw in a very recent happening in Kashmir, Srinagar, this *Ektā Yatra*, which is nothing but Rao-Advani joint venture. No mention is made in the President's Address when the country is being divided on the communal lines. In spite of my respect, genuine respect for Jaswant Singhji, his reference to the Muslim majority population of Kashmir being one of the reasons for the trouble there; it was very unfortunate.

15.08 hrs.

[SHRI RAM NAIK in the Chair]

We want that the Kashmir issue should be solved on the basis of Simla Agreement; but we must take adequate note of Pakistan's intention. The Pakistan's Prime Minister supported the general strike of 5th of February. The High Commissioner is openly trying to internationalise the issue which is nothing but a direct interference in our internal affairs. I would like to know what is the Government seeking to do. We do not find any pointed reference in the President's Address as how to bring about peace and normalcy in Jammu and Kashmir. I do not know which Airforce plane or which plane took Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi with all the fanfare to Srinagar for the purpose of unfurling the flag; the flag is unfurled every year. Why was this special provision made? What does Mr. Thomas say about that? Therefore, this is the other dangerous situation in the country; this Congress/BJP existence to remain in power, which is another serious development. I request well meaning friends, if you have still unmortgaged conscience, please think about it.

I am glad that Mr. Jaswant Singh mentioned about Bofors. Prof. Thomas was very anxious that Bofors nobody should mention; he said, don't mention Bofors. According to the new information that has come out the Bofors issue is still very much germane for the sake of having clean political system in this country, if, at all possible, under the Congress Government.

Therefore, I would like to know what is the Government's response to this. What is the stage at which the investigation, if anything at all, is being carried on?

Who is in charge of the investigation? Why was the investigating officer changed? At whose instance was he changed?

What has happened to the St. Kitts' inquiry? Just because the present Prime Minister's name is involved, you have given a burial to that. And with all fanfare you

started it! We would like to know from the hon. Prime Minister as to what his instructions were to our Counsellor in the Indian Embassy there about that.

Another important aspect on which we do not find any reference is the Centre-State relations which has been deliberately kept pending unresolved. The Sarkaria Commission report is very convenient to them because they say that they are studying it. For years they will study it; they will never come to a conclusion. So many times it has been discussed in the House. It has been discussed in the Consultative Committee also. All the political parties have given their opinions. The State Governments have given their views. But nothing is being done. The result is that all the States, including the Congress Party ruled States, are facing the gravest of problems because there is no rethinking on the Centre-State relations. The financial resources of every State are getting shrunk.

The small savings which were coming to the help of the State Governments, have now totally whittled, because it has become no longer attractive because of the changes in the rate of interest of other funds.

Sir, so far as this small saving is concerned, I am informed that subject to correction by the Government a committee was set-up known as the Rangarajan Committee. I would like to know what the report of that Committee is. I have written to the hon. Finance Minister to place a copy of that report of the Rangarajan Committee, on Small Savings, on the Table of this House, but no response has come. I have also requested the Hon. Speaker to see that it is presented.

From whatever angle we see, from whatever aspect we see our country is facing the gravest of the problems because of the misrule of this Government, because of the surrender of this Government to foreign imperialists and the multi-nationals. Today the people of this country are groaning under a severe strain and I warn the Government: You may ridicule us today

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here taking advantage of your temporary majority, as you are ridiculing the people outside, as you are ridiculing the concept of Jawaharlal Nehru on public sector. But, Sir, the people of this country will not take it lying down.

You are only concerned with less than one per cent of the population of this country. You are not concerned with the remaining 99 per cent. Your market economy will not benefit the poorest of the poor in this country. Today 52 per cent of the people of the country are below the poverty line. There are crores and crores of illiterate people in this country. There are people who have no jobs, who have no future in this country. You are patting your own back. Even that you are patting because the IMF says, "You pat your own back."

There are other issues like the foreign of policy. I am not going into them. That will be dealt by my Comrade Malini Bhattacharya when she speaks. Our economy being dependent on the foreign powers is having its serious effect on the foreign policy formulations of this country.

Therefore, these are matters on which we cannot but express our concern and I am sorry, I cannot but oppose, very strongly oppose and say that this President's Address is a declaration of war against the people and not a declaration of war against poverty and disease.

[Translation]

ACHARYA VISHWANATH DAS SHASTRI (Sultanpur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak on Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. I would like to draw the attention of the House to some problems. The President's Address attracts the attention of the whole country. Since it is a document which outlines the policies which Government is going to follow during the next year. It is expected that the country will

be governed on these lines. But people felt very disappointed with this document. There are some basic problems which have not received serious attention of the Government such as the problem of unemployment. Seven to eight crore youth are unemployed in our country who should otherwise be engaged in the task of nation building and channelise their energies for developmental works. These Graduates and Post-Graduates have no work and obviously as an idle brain is a devil's workshop, they create some problems. President's Address does not outline any programme to tackle this major problem which is being faced by the country. Government should pay special attention to this problem by including the 'right to work' as a fundamental right in the Constitution. The youth of this country have lost all hope and are directionless. This has resulted in brain-drain. Our best talent is going out of country. We should seriously think in this regard.

I would like to quote the following couplet of the poet Shri Gopal Das Neeraj:-

*"Tan ki Havas man ko Gunahgar bana deti hai,
Bagh ke Bagh ko Bimari/aga deti hai
Bhukhe Peto'n Ko Desh Bhakti Sikhane Valo
Bhukh Insaan Ko Gunahgar bana deti hai."*

Crores of Indian youth are in search of employment opportunities. We should pay serious attention to this problem. But Government has not paid enough attention to the problem. The President's Address has not enunciated on this in a clear-cut manner. The country is not as dynamic in the industrial sphere as it should have been. It has not marched ahead as it should have been. We can progress through small-scale industries. Our country is predominantly an agricultural country. Only Metropolitan cities Delhi-Bombay Calcutta and Madras do not comprise whole country. Five Star Culture is not the real culture of the country. Our country is predominantly an agricultural country. The agro-industries should grow. We take salt that is produced in big factories. All

the things that we use in our everyday life such as soap, oil etc are produced in big industrial units by Multi-national companies. Peas are grown in the fields but the multinational companies process it, pack it in bottles and then sell it to us. The Multinational companies have thus taken over the production of almost all the necessities of life. We are facing a similar threat as we were facing during the East India Company's rule during the pre-Independence era. They kept us like slaves for 150-200 years. Unless these things are not produced by the Small scale industries and Cottage industries, the multinational companies would continue to hold sway and the present state of affairs will continue. It will be a matter of mere discussion in the House. There should be clear cut policy in this regard. The multinational companies must not be encouraged.

We often talk of promoting cottage and small-scale industries and provide loan facilities also. Some people open new enterprises but it does not serve any purpose. Their finished products do not reach the market because the multinational companies have so much pressure in the market. Therefore, unless and until a classification is made for goods which are to be manufactured by multinational companies and the things which are to be produced under cottage and small scale industry, the problem cannot be solved. We are suffering the consequences of following wrong policies even today. Until and unless cottage industry and small scale industries get proper attention, the problem of unemployment cannot be solved. The unemployment problem will go on unabated and that is also dangerous. We have already discussed the problems of Punjab, Kashmir, Bihar, Assam, Nagaland and Mizoram and the role of separatist forces which are active in these areas. We should urgently pay attention to this problem.

Hon. President has made a reference to the problem of Kashmir in his Address. It states, "The involvement of forces across the border in aiding, arming and providing logistic support to the terrorists in Kashmir is now well known" I would like to submit to this

House that Pakistan wants to divide this country by supplying arms to the militant youth of this country. It wants to mislead the youth of this country and thus divide it. But in the Presidential Address nowhere has it been mentioned how, Government is proposes to solve this problem. I sometimes introspect on this problem. The hon. President has put the facts before us. Therefore it is but natural for this House to start a debate on the topic. If Pakistan continues to follow this policy then it should be warned and given an ultimatum of ten days and told that it should stop such mischievous activities otherwise, India can face this challenge and it would shatter their dreams of dividing India. Unless India takes a stern stand to this effect, the state of affairs would remain the same. Pakistan is hatching this conspiracy against India and the anti national forces are active within the country. How does our Government propose to settle this issue, there is no reference of this in the President's Address. Government should ponder seriously over the matter and take action in this regard.

It is often discussed that the *Ekta Yatra* enunciated by the BJP had adverse effect on the country's polity. I would like to submit to the hon. members of both the opposition and the ruling party sitting in this House that we should be able to serve the cause of integrity of this country if we go and unfurl the national flag in Kashmir. I have myself visited that place and experienced that it had boosted the morale of the security forces. The masses of Kashmir do not have anything to do with the militant activities. The people there are suppressed and depressed and this *Yatra* has tried to give them a sense of relief. It has aroused in them a sense of confidence and provided them enough strength and will power. This *Yatra* should be viewed with a positive attitude not with a negative attitude, because every activity of BJP seems pale to the jaundiced eyes of the ruling party. This is not the fault of BJP.

On the end, I would like to draw the attention of the members of the House to two important points and then I would conclude. One point is Education policy. Forty

[Acharya Vishwanath Dass Shastri]

four years have passed after Independence, India is still not able to follow a clear education policy.

India has not been able to frame an education policy which instils a sense of pride in its cultural heritage. If stating truth is a kind of revolt, then I dare say, that we are all revolutionaries.

The education policy has become a matter of general discussion among the masses. But one thing which has ruined the country is corruption. In my opinion it is all because of the faulty education policy which requires some fundamental changes. In this context we have talked to some responsible persons but serious effort has not been made in this direction. I would like to draw the attention of the House to this matter also.

The second point I would like to refer to is regarding rise in prices. They have won the election on the assurance that prices would be brought down within 100 days but this Budget gives little hope of any such thing happening. Prices are rising steadily but the President's Address does not mention any steps likely to be taken to control prices. Sir, if the present situation continues, there will be an acute shortage of commodities in future. During the British rule the people who participated in the freedom struggle used to sing a song. Although I cannot recall the entire song, some of the words were "*Aman bech denge, chaman bech denge*". No doubt such points are discussed in the House in a lofty manner but no concrete steps are taken. The reason is that if the intelligentsia became apathetic, the patriots will even go to the extent of selling the country. So, nothing is done for the general public. The people of this country vote for us and we get the status of hon. Member but what do we do for those people. While drawing the attention of the House to this matter I oppose the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address.

SHRI JAGMEET SINGH BRAR
(Faridkot): Sir, I have risen to support the

Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. I consider myself fortunate to have got an opportunity to stand amidst the representatives of the 80 crore people of this country and convey the sentiments of the people of my constituency.

Opposition leaders spoke intensely of the elections in Punjab. On behalf of the people of Punjab, I would like to compliment the Government for holding the Punjab elections efficiently in the face of many problems. Some great poet rightly said that:-

*"Barson raha hai dushman daure jaman
hamara,
Kuchh baat hai ki hasti mitati nahin
hamari."*

The Punjab elections was no ordinary event. I compliment the parties which participated in the elections.

Just now Shri Somnath Chatterjee was speaking and yesterday Shri Jaswant Singh spoke on the President's Address. I would like to remind them of their party colleagues who risked their lives to participate in the election. The Akali Dal members who had been elected last time with a thumping majority chose to walk out on the pretext of taking the oath with their swords and lost the opportunity to convey the sentiments of their constituents. We would have been happier if some members of the Akali Dal had been elected instead of those elected from our party because problems of Punjab if expressed by them would have provided succour to all of us. I would like to compliment the Government of Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao and as Dr. Iqbal the great poet of the East has praised Guru Nanak in the following words:

*"Fir sada aakhir uthi tauheed ki Punjab
se,
Hind ko ek mard-kabil ne jagaya khak
se"*

This role was eminently played by Shri Narasimha Rao who deserves all praise for the smooth conduct of the Punjab elections.

Sir, in these 10 years (interruptions) as

this is my maiden speech I request that no interruptions be made. In the last 10 years, 16000 persons were killed in Punjab, The B.J.P. leader Hitbhlashi, some members of the Congress from the block level to the district level and some members of the C.P.I. and C.P.I. (M) were killed in Punjab. I would like to inform a very well-known leader of the opposition who is present here that one of the things being said in the training camps in Pakistan is that:-

[English]

Punjab is treasure box. The path of power is punjab. If you capture Punjab you capture India.

[Translation]

I would like to recall the sacrifices made by the people of Punjab since they find mention in the President's Address. As my colleagues have been referring to voting percentages I would like to tell them that I have been elected from Faridkot district from where the former Chief Minister Shri Parkash Singh Badal hails and he was one of the leaders who boycotted the Punjab polls. In his own village 700 votes were polled out of a total of 1200. Of these, 400 were in favour of the Congress. Sir, today I feel proud to say that when Faiz Ahmed Faiz was imprisoned in the Rawalpindi jail and the then Government and banned his writings, he said:

"Fatahe-e lauhen kalamathhin gayeen to kya gam hai, ki khoone dil mein dubo li hain ungliyan maine. Juban par muhar lagi hai to kya, rakh di hai harek halka-e zanzeer par juban maine."

So percentages should not be considered in the Punjab elections because threats were received by people that the families of those who became polling agents for C.P.I.(M), Congress or Bahujan Samaj Party, would be killed. I would like to congratulate all political parties and all the people of Punjab for their courageous attitude towards the conspiracies designed to discour-

age and demoralise them. In this way they provided honour to the country.

Today on this occasion, while referring to the great State of Punjab I would like to submit that history has been repeated in the recent elections in that State. History has been repeated in the land of Kartar Singh Sarawan, Bhagat Singh and Lala Lajpat Rai, who gave the slogan of 'Simon Commission go back'. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I hail from the land where people have kept the sacred ashes of the great martyr shaheed Bhagat Singh and Rajguru till date in their houses who were hanged in the Lahore jail and their last ceremonies were performed on the bank of river Satluz after pouring Kerosene oil on their dead bodies. I hail from the State of Punjab where patriots sang this song-

*"Sarfarooshi kee Tamanna Ab Hamare Dil Mein Hai,
Dekhna Hai Jore Kitna Baju-e-Katil Mein Hai.
Wakt Aane Par Tujhe Bata Denge Ai Asman,
Hum Abhi Se Kya Batayein Kay Hamare Dil Mein Hai".*

I belong to the land where the people have high regard for these martyrs. Today I would like to thank the Government of Shri P.V. Narashima Rao, who in a speech at Aurangabad said that "I want a Government in Punjab." No one can be a bigger democrat than he is. He never said that he wanted a Congress (I) Government in Punjab, but just said "I want a Government." People of Punjab have elected a Government. I would like to thank the President of India, Shri P.V. Narashima Rao and the Congress (I) Government for this historical step.

In addition, I will not be fulfilling my duties if I do not make a mention of the difficulties and sufferings of the people, who elected me to this august House at the grave risk to their lives. Just like someone has said-

*"Kissa Ae Dard Sunate Hain Kie Mazboor Hum,
Kissa Ae Dard Hai."*

[Sh. Jagmeet Singh Brar]

A great poet was born in Lebanon who is called a poetic genius master or the unquestionable master. Here I am referring to Khalil Jibran who has penned down very good poems. One of his poems is- "We And You." One of the lines of the said poem is- "We are the sons of sorrow and you are the sons of joy." Further the poem is as follows.

[English]

The poem-"We and You."

"We are the sons of sorrow and you are the sons of joy,

*You donot comprehend our cry,
For the clamour of the days is crowding
your ears,
Blocked with the hard substance of
your ears of indifference to truth."*

[Translation]

I am making a mention of this because if we do not accept the truth we cannot save the Punjab. To save the Punjab, it is essential to think above the party politics.

Hon. Members of various parties are represented in the House and I would like to submit that from 1984 to 1992, no action has been taken against the culprits of 1984 riots except publishing a white paper on the riots. It has been acknowledged that 5,000 persons were killed in those riots. All these persons including children were brutally murdered.

Three hundred years ago Guru Teg Bahadur came to this area from Punjab and sacrificed his life at Sisganj for not accepting the religion in which he did not have any faith:

*"Tilak Janju Rakha Prabh Taka,
Keeno Bado Kalhoon Mein Saka."*

Eight years have elapsed and none has been punished. A number of Governments changed in the country. Shri P.V. Narashima

Rao and Shri Chandra Shekhar assumed office but not a single police Officer or any other accused has been punished. Nothing can be more shameful than all this. It is mentioned in the President's Address that situation in Punjab needs to be controlled and the people of the country also want peace in Punjab. I would like to submit that in 1982 on the one hand renowned athlete Shri Milkha Singh carried the torch and lighted the flame, and on the other hand well known General, who made great sacrifices in safeguarding the borders of the country and has been awarded several medals by the Government for his gallantry, was refused entry because of the turban on his head, when he was going to witness the Asiad Games. These things do not go down well with the people of Punjab.

It is not the question of Chandigarh, it is not the question of other demands or it is not the question of water but it is the question of pride and prestige; it is the question of healing the old wounds. Though assurance were made often yet nothing has been done in this regard. Even before elections promise of a package deal for Punjab and the solution of water issue and extension of economic benefits was made by the Government and the ruling party. But some vested interests did not allow to be implemented that assurance and they enthusiastically claim that they only did not allow Chandigarh to be transferred to Punjab. Those people now consider themselves as heroes.

I represent the people of Punjab and my party in the House. Whatever comes out from the heart definitely makes an impression:

*"Par Nahin Takate Parwaz Magar
Rakhta Hai."*

I would like to submit to the House that there is a need to remove the sufferings and agony of the State.

Haryana and Punjab are neighbouring States. Rajasthan is the land from where our ancestors hailed. It is mentioned in the

President's Address that the issue relating to distribution of water should be settled through negotiations among the States. Neighbouring State Haryana is inhabited by 20 percent Punjabis and Telugu has been recognised as the second language in that State ignoring the Punjabi language; while it is a fact that a number of languages are spoken in our country. It is folly to say that Haryana's shore of Satluj-Yamuna link canal can be drawn by deploying BSF and Army. Who will agree with this? It is also a fact and everybody accepts it that the nation is above the language.

[English]

We are Indians first; we do not bother what is the language.

[Translation]

From the signals sent to Punjab it is evident that step-motherly treatment has been meted out to the Punjabi Language and because of it only the trickling issue of Punjab is hanging fire for want to solution. Sir, through you and through the august House I want to draw the attention towards these things.

In addition I would like also to submit that the beautiful city Chandigarh has been built 26 years ago by an Architect Leo Crubusser by removing small villages. I would like to draw the attention of the Government through you, Sir, that even after a long period of 26 years the Government has not been able to implement its commitment for transferring Chandigarh to Punjab.

During the reign of Akali Dal Government headed by Shri Surjit Singh Barnala it was decided that on the 26th January, Chandigarh would be formally transferred to Punjab and the cards were distributed in the whole of Chandigarh in this connection. But the next morning it was announced that the issue of transferring of Hindi speaking areas Jhokhar and Fazilka of Punjab to Haryana should be settled first and only then the Chandigarh issue would be settled. Is not all this travesty of justice?

There is only one place in the entire country where enumeration was conducted on the basis of language. In Kandukhera, a border area in Punjab, people were forced to tell the language they speak. There can be nothing more shameful than all this was done in the name of language. Through you, I would like to submit this.

MR. CHAIRMAN: This is your first version, that is why I did not stop you but.....

SHRI JAGMEET SINGH BRAR: I would like to make two more points and sum up.

I want to mention it because the late Shri Rajiv Gandhi is not amidst us today. It has been said "*Daman Kisi ka haath se jata raha magar, Ek rishta-e-khayal hai, jo toota nahin.*"

In 1988 he went to Goindwal Sahib. I would take only 2-3 minutes. Please permit me to make this point. Goindwal is a place in Punjab which is said to be the "axis" and 'nucleus', it is the central place of Punjab where several religions flourished. When Shri Rajiv Gandhi visited that place lakhs of people gathered there. There he announced setting up of a project costing Rs. 300 crores and also a railway track from Goindwal Sahib to Tarantaran. However, I would like to draw attention to the fact that no initiative has been taken in this regard so far. Our late Prime Minister made an announcement but the bureaucrats said that the project was not viable and therefore, it was not launched.

Besides, I would seek you permission to make a few more submissions. It is a matter of concern for the entire country, no matter whether BJP is in power or CPM is in power. People of Punjab feel aggrieved that they worked hard to reclaim the barren land in the country, with sweat and hard labour they produced grains to feed their countrymen, but today a very unreason FD Act has been enacted and notices issued to them under it and in the various parts of the country. People of the State are distressed that though they are ready to sacrifice their lives for the country, and are doing whatever is possible, yet they are held responsible for

[Sh. Jagmeet Singh Brar]

such unhappy incidents as those which took place in Rudrapur for which a small section of people was responsible.

I would like to make one more submission before I conclude. One after the other hon. Prime Ministers visited Golden Temple in open Jeeps. Many dramas were enacted and the State has witnessed such things several times. It was only due to the historic decision of Shri P.V. Narashima Rao that elections were held in Punjab. Now he should visit the Golden Temple, listen to the problems of the people of Punjab and also take measures to solve them. Delhi riots have been cause of utter grief in the hearts of Punjabis residing all over India, I would like to submit that the Government should take measures to provide justice to the people of Punjab so far as the water dispute is concerned, water is most important for this State. In regard to the Indira Gandhi Canal, I would like to mention that about one million acre feet water was provided to Rajasthan, "The Economic Times", one of the leading newspapers of the country has released a document which mentions that 70 percent area is water logged area as a result of eight million acre feet water being provided to Rajasthan by Punjab and the soil of that State is not able to withstand this water logging. The soil is not able to retain fertility. I would submit to the Government that water should be supplied through canals upto 1000 kms. However, in this regard I would like to quote the report:

[English]

"In stage one of the command area, numerous villages have been submerged by waterlogging and smaller patches all along the canal suffered from water-logging, salinity of soil and salinity in ground water supply."

[Translation]

My submission is that the problem will be solved only if two million acre feet of water now going waste is diverted from Rajasthan

to Punjab and Haryana and the barren land in these States may also be reclaimed.

With these words I conclude my speech (Interruptions).

PROF. UMMAREDDY VENKATESHWARLU (Tenali): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Address of the President presented on 24th February to the Members of both the Houses basically lacks the reflection of ground realities.

It is customary that the report should trace the past events and also provide a new direction to the Government for its future performance.

Disappointingly the Report neither traced the past real happenings nor provided any future priorities that are to be incumbent on the Government. When the nation went for polls in the year 1991, the Congress-I Party made tall promises but stands with dismal achievement today. The Congress-I Party promised:

If it is voted to power, the Party is determined to roll back the prices to the levels of July 1990.

Now, I would like to quote from the Election Manifesto of the Congress (I) Party from page 25 and I quote:

"The Congress reiterates its firm resolve to use the full power of the State to arrest the rise in prices and bring down the prices of essential commodities and articles of common consumption. Economic policy will be geared to this end. Stern action will be taken against black-marketing, hoarding and profiteering and against those who are profiting from the misery of the common man.

In particular, the Congress is determined to roll back prices to levels obtaining in July 1990 in the case of diesel, Kerosene, Salt, edible oils, cycles and two-wheelers, electric bulbs, cotton sarees and dhotis of 40s count or below, stoves including smoke-

less chulhas, newsprint and postcards, inland letters and envelopes."

This was the promise given. But contrary to this, what had happened in these past eight months? I do not know how many blackmarketeers or hoarders or the profiteering machinery have been booked during the past eight months; how much has been unearthed so far as the black money is concerned. Our hon. friend Shri Mukherji has mentioned that more than Rs. 50,000 crores in still lingering on as black money which is posing a threat to the Indian economic situation. Surprisingly, its economic policies have rolled the prices upward, contributed to the most unprecedented inflationary trends and thereby making the life of the common man highly miserable.

Sir, soon after its assumption of charge, this Government evolved a new Trade Policy aimed at several structural changes to set right the balance of payments. But the so-called economic policies commenced with the devaluation twice, sale of Gold etc. created confusion in the society and its economic front, compression of exports, industrial stagnation, tremendous fall in the industrial growth rate from 8 per cent to minus one per cent, reduction in GDP by eight per cent, aggravating inflation which turned out to be 16.7 per cent, skyrocketing prices of essential commodities and even reduction in exports are some of the resultant evils that have been mounted during these past eight months. The common rice price itself has gone up by 30.4 per cent during this period. But the IMF conditionalities of withdrawing subsidies even on fertilizers proved to be unproductive during the past kharif season.

In particular, 6-7 million tonnes of the foodgrains production has gone down from the expected 103 million tonnes. The rate of inflation has also touched an all time record of 16.7 per cent during this period of eight months.

As far as employment is concerned, the Congress(I) Party also envisaged generation of employment. The party has said in its

Election Manifesto of employment. The Party has said in its Election Manifesto in page 26 about this. I quote:

"In its Approach to the Eighth Plan, the Congress envisaged employment generation at three per cent per year against the present rate of 1.6 per cent per year. Congress will work out a strategy to expand employment opportunities at three per cent per annum through suitable industrial, agricultural, economic and fiscal policies.

The Congress will create 10 million new jobs per year and 100 million jobs by the end of the century.

The Congress will also generate 1000 million man days of guaranteed rural employment every year."

Has any one of these promises been fulfilled during the past eight months?

16.00 hrs

It has promised to create ten million jobs and not even one job has been created or given. Contrary to this promise, the Government is bent upon throwing the industrial labour out of employment by introducing the EXIT Policy, leaving aside creation of new jobs. This evidently is a part of the accepted conditionalities of IMF since it has agreed upon extending the loan facility for the creation of the National Revolving Fund to clear the immediate financial commitments of the employees likely to face retrenchment owing to EXIT Policy.

If the public sector undertakings are suffering with excess staff and fall in productivity, they should be improved but not to be closed.

The past eight months rule of Congress-I is marked with several political debacles. They have been claiming that their achievements have been endorsed during the polls which have been conducted during the past eight months. I may say that the democracy has been ridiculed and the polity

[Prof. Ummareddy Venkateshwari]

was hoodwinked during these past eight months. Unfortunately, this aspect did not find a place in the entire long speech of the President.

The Political instability in Punjab, Assam and Jammu and Kashmir did not find a democratic solution though the Government claims to have successfully conducted the elections in Punjab in the recent past. The very fact that the Government immediately on the heels of its assumption of charge cancelled the Punjab elections in 1991, just on the penultimate day of the schedule date evidently shows that the Congress-I Party was dependent of its success in the elections of 1991.

This became the bad precedent and the elections were boycotted on subsequent occasions.

In 1992 poll, several other parties have also boycotted and this is the reason why there was very low polling during the elections. The Congress has bagged 83 per cent seats with hardly nine per cent votes out of the 21.6 per cent votes that were polled. In almost 2000 villages, people did not turn up for voting. In a constituency by name 'Joga' it was a wonderful experience where the total voting was more than a lakh, and hardly one per cent of the total voting and a fraction of it went in favour of the Congress party candidate. He has been declared as elected to the Assembly. This is the manner in which the democracy was said to have been upheld and this shows how the democracy has been ridiculed in Punjab, where majority of the votes did not participate in the elections. Even the sikh leaders, the recognised sikh leaders were kept in jail and the elections were conducted.

The political scenario in Assam and Jammu and Kashmir is in a fluid stage. The problem of militancy and extremism of JKLF and ULFA could not be solved and the annihilation and political anarchy continue to pose a threat to the very foundations of democracy. The claim of Congress I Party

that their achievements of the past eight months are endorsed by the electorate in recent elections is totally dubious and self-deceiving.

In the by-elections that have been held recently and more particularly in Andhra Pradesh where the Prime Minister himself was in the election fray, you have seen from the newspaper reports how the democracy has been murdered. In the Nandyal constituency, where the Prime Minister himself was a candidate, his success was a foregone conclusion when the TDP party and its President Shri NTR did not field a candidate. But in that constituency, all sorts of malpractices were resorted to right from preventing candidates from filling of nominations, booth capturing, rigging, impersonation, misuse of official machinery and so on. A majority of 5.8 lakh votes was managed to have been achieved by Prime Minister in the elections. It might have been recorded or entered in the Guinness Book of Record. But at the same time, all these malpractices also must be recorded in the Guinness Book of World Record.

In Manipur, in spite of the Cabinet's decision and the recommendation of the Chief Minister to dissolve the Assembly and to go in for fresh polls, the Government has placed it under animated suspension with a mala fide intention of petty political gains and also to allow time for horse-trading and to buy the Members.

In Andhra Pradesh, the whole co-operative spirit was dismantled in the recent elections by nominating two members to the Board of Directors, which is most unprecedented and which is most unwarranted. If we wish to maintain the co-operative spirit. Unfortunately, the Government of India remained silent as a non-entity. It must be remembered that this would be the beginning of the destruction of the cooperative movement and the Congress(I) Party would be held responsible for such heinous assassination of the co-operative and democratic values. If this is endorsed by the Government of India, where is the guarantee that another Government will not get motivated

with such an undemocratic precedent and nominate even more members when it comes to their turn for political gains?

In Nagpur Municipal elections, we have seen in the newspapers and the newspaper reports reveal that there were a large number of malpractices to capture the political power by Congress (I). The protests filed by the other parties went unheard of.

These are all several distortions of democratic values set up by the present P.V. Narashima Rao's Government in its eight months rule.

With regard to the Centre-State relationship, I would like to say that over-centralization of powers with the centre is not conducive to the federal structure of the country. If the turn of the political events in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia are of any lesson, the Government should respect the federal structure more particularly when several States are under the non-Congress (I) rule.

I do not know as what had happened to the recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission. They need to be implemented in letter and spirit. With the emergence of the changed political scenario in recent times, I suggest that it would be better for the Government to bring about certain constitutional changes to create a "separate institutions" to monitor the Centre-State relationship from time to time, in tune with the committed federal values of the Constitution.

The President's Address did not mention about some of the important unfortunate events that took place in the country from time to time such as the starvation deaths of the handloom weavers in Andhra Pradesh and the large scale massacre of the Scheduled Caste persons in places like Tsundur in Andhra Pradesh, Gaya in Bihar etc. The Government did not even express its minimum concern over such grave issues in the long speech of the President.

The Government have conveniently forgotten about mentioning of election re-

forms, Anti-Defection Bill, functioning of Prasara Bharati, commissioning of II channel in Doordarshan and also the Bofors issue which has assumed a new dimension etc. These are some of the important current issues.

The all-round deterioration of the law and the order situation in several States with the growing naxalism, extremism, militancy, fundamentalism etc. are likely to pose a threat to the integrity and sovereignty of the country. This warrants the greatest concern and attention of the Government.

Lastly, the much talked about Dunkel's proposals which have created fear psychosis about the prospects of agricultural, pharmaceutical industries, biotechnology etc., did not find place in the entire Address.

Finally, the Ekta Yatra organised by B.J.P. leaders provoked fundamentalism and communal division rather than fostering the much publicised unity and integrity. Though the Congress-I Government extended its blessings, the whole yatra proved to be a farce and they had to borrow even the Army flag poll for hoisting the national flag in a hurry.

With these words, I thank the hon. Chair for having given me the opportunity.

16.09 hrs.

[SHRI P.M.SAYEED in the Chair]

[Translation]

SHRI AYUB KHAN (Jhunjhunu): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address, moved by Shri Sayeed. I would like to congratulate the Hon. Prime Minister and his Government that they have kept their promise for conducting elections in Punjab during February, in spite of the difficult situation there. The people supported the Congress unanimously there and a large number of Members belonging to Congress were elected from there. The people of Punjab should be congratulated for this. The Government

[Sh. Ayub Khan]

should provide all the facilities to Punjab, as the people there had faced a lot of difficulties during the Governor's rule and due to terrorism. They should be provided all the necessary assistance to get rid of these difficulties. A lot of people in Punjab have been wrongly kept in jails. They should be released through general amnesty. The Rajiv-Longowal Accord should be implemented at the earliest and Chandigarh should be handed over to Punjab. Then the Government should pay its attention on other things. The Government has tackled the situation of Kashmir with ability. If there is a need to adopt more strictness, it should be done. The people should be mobilised and should be prepared for elections. It is known to everyone what was the result of *Ekta Yatra*. If this *yatra* would have undertaken to unite the country, it would have been praised. In Rajasthan, this *Ekta Yatra* covered a distance of three hundred kilometres from Jaipur to Pilani. The Rajasthan Government is unable to make arrangements for drinking water, but a lot of funds were spent for the repair of the roads and for removing electric poles and trees from the roads through which this *Ekta Yatra* passed. Crores of rupees were spent on this work. If the same funds were used to make arrangements for drinking water in Rajasthan, the people of that State would have blessed the State Government. The State Government was unable to provide a two feet connection of water to the people there under the Jawahar Yojna, but crores of rupees were spent on the *Ekta Yatra*. Was this *yatra* undertaken by the moghuls, that the roads had to be beautified, trees were cut and electric poles were removed. While coming out of the B.S.F. Bus in Kashmir, Shri Khurana was waving his hands. If the road had been blocked by snow, was it possible for any person to go and unfurl the flag there. This *yatra* should have been undertaken for the unity and integrity of the country. You call yourself patriot. You should take all the citizens of this country along with you. Do not have such self-interest that you will get more votes, if you continue to attack the minorities in such a way. This is our country.

*"Hindi hain hum, vatan hai hindustan
hamara
hum bulbulen hain iski, yeh gulsitan
hamara."*

We are born in this country. It is our religion and duty to respect every inch of our motherland. It is highly improper to deliver provocative speeches and to pollute people's minds. This practice has been adopted only to catch votes and to mislead the people and the mislead people vote in favour of such party. You always try to get votes in the name of temple and mosque. But you have never thought that there is no difference between a temple and a mosque. Both are places of worship. We have to remove this difference. Only then, our country can make some progress. If we continue to quarrel on such trifling issues and do not pay attention towards the economy of our country, we can never let the country progress. Everyone is responsible for this situation. Some people exploited the feelings of minorities but later on, minorities came to know about the reality.

In the end, I would like to mention about the deployment of Army in Kashmir. I would like to request the Government through you that the Army of our country should not be used in place of police. The army, which is there to safe guard the borders of our country, should not be used to do the work of police. If the Army is deployed inside the country to tackle internal situation, it will be misuse of our forces and when there will be actual need of forces, they may not be able to do their own work. Therefore, I would like to submit that in any condition, the Army should not be used to tackle the internal disturbances in the country. Instead, the Army should be provided with all the facilities and it should be given the whole time for its training. If the Army does the work of police, it will also be affected with the same poisonous feelings which has crept up in the police force, and it will not be able to defend the country. In this country, the recruitment in police should be done on the basis of community and not on the basis of majority. People from all the communities should be recruited in the police. This will stop the

Hindu-Muslim riots. It will help in stopping frequent atrocities and molestation of our womenfolk. Large scale changes should be made in the set up of the police force and people from all the communities should be included in it. It will create a feeling of security among the people of every community, because they will also have their representatives in the police force.

I would also like to mention another point here. The Government of Shri V.P. Singh and Shri Chandrashekhar has totally emptied the coffers of our country. Such propaganda was made that our coffers are empty and that is why they could not do anything. If any Prime Minister makes such propaganda that our coffers are empty then who will come forward to help us.

If the Prime Minister of such a large country says that his country's treasury is empty, which country will come to his aid? Under the circumstances, we would like to congratulate our hon. Prime Minister for formulating a policy that will take the country forward. We have been demanding 'one rank-one pension' for a long time and the Government has finally fulfilled it. It is a matter of pride.

The Government, the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister deserve our heartiest felicitations for fulfilling our long standing demand for 'one rank one pension.' I appeal to the Government to pay its attention towards Fertilizers, keeping in mind the provision made for agriculture and farmers in this Budget. The 80 % of the total production of fertilizer goes to States, while Rajasthan receives only 18%. Despite being a large State, 61% of Rajasthan's land area is covered by desert and only 31% areas is populated. Indira Gandhi Canal is the only source of water to meet the requirements of the State's populace. If the Union Government doesn't provide 100% assistance for the completion of the Indira Gandhi Canal, keeping in the mind the interests of the people of the State, then Rajasthan would be deprived of water. It is my firm belief that if the Centre doesn't take over the work of the Indira Gandhi Canal, then the State Government

would spend the entire money at its disposal to widen the roads to greet the 'Ekta Yatra'.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to congratulate the Government for the provision made in the Railway Budget to convert metre gauge into Broad gauge. I think that work on one kilometre would provide employment to 10,000 people.

Lastly, through you, I would like to appeal to you that the 15% reservation for minorities should be done away with. The minorities should be allowed to preserve their identity. They are part and parcel of this country and should be provided with all the opportunities available to other citizens. If they are kept apart, it would only increase their bitterness. Therefore, I request the Government to remove this bitterness and pay attention towards Rajasthan.

[English]

SHRI P.C. THOMAS: (Muvattupuzha): Sir, I am glad that the President's Address has pointed to almost all the main problems which this country is facing and has discussed in general, the policy of the Government with regard to these problems. Especially with regard to the problems of Punjab, Kashmir, Assam and other disturbed areas, the President has, in his speech, given concrete policy measures.

With regard to communalism and such other problems faced generally in the country, the President's Address has made proper mention and has given the steps which the Government is going to take in this regard.

Now with regard to the new policy in the economic, industrial as well as our foreign spheres, these policies are being attacked by some sections of our House. I think, the new Government has come forward to take very broadminded as well as very effective steps in this regard.

We, of course, have apprehensions with regard to the rising prices and some of the problems which we are facing at the

[Sh. P.C. Thomas]

Centre and the steps which the Government is going to take in this regard. We are all viewing it with utmost importance.

I would think that the new policies in the economic sphere which are declared by the Government—many of which are in the sphere of exports as well as other new spheres—are absolutely in the way of free marketing and encouragement to new industries to come. I think these policies will bear results. Now, of course, we have a feeling that the boost which is given to efficiency, should never be a problem in any way for those who cannot compete. There are some suspicions in that way. But I would think that the competition which is taught or which is envisaged will bring out efficiency and that is the only manner in which we can face the real dreadful situation of price rise and other problems which we are facing. I would think that some specific suggestions should have been made with regard to agricultural sector in the President's Address. Of course, President has mentioned that the Government is going to bring out new ventures in agricultural sector so as to bring about more production and to boost this sector. I welcome them. But I would think when we speak of agriculture, we always speak of foodgrains or oilseeds. Normally, we do not think of other items in the agricultural sector which have to be given more importance.

In Kerala, we have pepper cultivation in a large number. But the pepper cultivators are in great difficulty. They have no hope to feel that they will come out of the dreadful situation in which they are now. I would think that there should have been a special mention with regard to foreign exchange earning through agricultural produce like pepper.

Rubber is also another agricultural produce on which a special mention should have been made because this is also an item where India is saving to a very great extent by more production and thereby restricting imports which otherwise we should have had. I think some more boost should be given to this sector as it is facing a great

problem of not getting a proper price.

I would like to make a point with regard to the public distribution system. Kerala is a State where there is total statutory rationing of rice. There is a real problem when the price of ration rice has gone up. Kerala Government has got a very low Budget when compared to the Budgets of other States. It is spending a sizeable percentage of this Budget for saving the common man from the rise in price of ration rice. I would think that the Government should take some special interest and see that at least in States where such types of rationing are invoked with regard to grains and food stuff which are used by the common man, some important measures have to be taken. States like Kerala should be given special aid to give proper aid to the common man in this regard.

I am happy that the President has mentioned so many things including job opportunities and special forums to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Likewise, in housing also, the National Housing Policy is envisaged. I have another point to make in this regard. In Kerala, there is a new Housing Policy which is in the offcising. There is a move now to give houses to all those who do not have houses for which great funds are required.

Of course, the funding agencies in the Centre are helpful to Kerala in this regard. I would suggest that the scheme should be devised in such a way that more and more benefits reach the poorer people. I hope that the help given by the Centre in this regard to Kerala would be more encouraging.

A special mention is made in the President's Address with regard to a legislation for setting up a National Trust for the welfare of the mentally retarded and those affected by cerebral palsy. I welcome this because the Government has taken a very good step for the welfare of the weak and less fortunate people of our society.

Before concluding, I would like to say that the President's Address has made a

mention on our foreign policy and about our dealings with different countries. But there is one point which needs a special mention. There are many persons who go to other countries and earn a living there. We are encouraging them. But they are facing too much of a difficulty even for getting a passport. I would suggest that some important reforms are necessary with regard to the issue of passports to make it easier for our citizens to go abroad and find jobs.

There are so many nurses who would like to go out of India and get jobs. But if they are restrained at the stage of getting passports itself, it would be very discouraging for them. When job opportunities are available abroad, people should be given help and encouragement to get passports.

On the whole, just within eight months of its rule, the Government has come up with so many new proposals which, I am sure, will save the people from the wrath of a dreadful situation in which they were put.

[Translation]

SHRI PIUS TIRKEY (Alipurduars): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to speak against the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. The hon. President is well aware of the country's enormous size and of the disparity between the rich and the poor. Even today, 50% of our population live below the poverty line, but there is no reference to them in the Address. Similarly, the Address is silent about any Government initiative to solve the unemployment problem faced by 12 crore citizens of this country.

The new Government has launched a publicity campaign across the country, calling its policies as 'progressive'. A lot of effort has also been made to underplay the impact of the new politics on the common people. The Budget presented by the Government smacks of the influence of another country. It has not been independently prepared by us. The country's interests have been mort-

gaged, under this Budget. I would like to know whether in whose interests this Budget has been prepared? Mr. Chairman, Sir, you know very well that foreigners have always come to this country to serve their selfish interests. They came with the objective of exploiting the wealth of this country. You are well aware of the manner in which this country's immense wealth was taken away to other countries, during British Raj. We were left with nothing. Today, after 40-45 years of independence, we are going to repeat history. Millions of people have benefited from the development, that took place in the post independence era. Yet, today the Prime Minister and Finance Minister are behaving like peons and falling at the feet of others, for aid. History is witness to the fact that in order to humiliate the native Princes, the Englishmen deliberately prescribed a uniform for the peons, which was akin to the robes worn by the Rajas and Maharajas. Even today, you will find that the gatekeepers and peons in Hotels wear uniforms, similar to the ones worn by Rajas and Maharajas, during their hey days. Our Prime Minister and his entire cabinet including the Finance Minister is all set to **, to hoodwink the masses and take them back to a similar position. They are all praise for the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund and are prepared to agree to all their conditionalities. They intend to hoodwink the masses.

The rupee has been devalued twice. Who suggested it to the Government? Rupee has no value. What is the reason behind it. Price rise has become order of the day. Despite having adequate stock of wheat, paddy and rice it is strange that we are importing wheat from outside because wheat is not available in distribution system, where has the stock of wheat disappeared? With the object of giving additional profit to traders, they have been asked to store wheat in their godowns.

The factories are closed and the people are desperately running here and there in search of employment, they are being re-

**Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

[Sh. Pius Tirkey]

trenched. It is being said that the number of railway employees and Bank employees and other employees in every field will be curtailed. It is an anti people Government and, therefore, it is working against the interest of this country. They have attempted to sell this country into foreign hands. They should be exposed.

The tribal problem is existing in every part of the country. In the name of construction of dams and factories, agricultural land is being snatched away from the tribals and there is no provision to rehabilitate these people. Diseases are spreading and children are dying of starvation. We are being mortgaged economically and politically. The foreigners will come and spoil our culture. They will rob us of everything and take these things to their own country. The traders from outside come for gridding their axe. The ordinary person should understand these things. If this Government fails to understand this aspect, the Government should resign immediately but the country should not be mortgaged.

Land reforms have not been implemented till date. Genuine farmers have still not been able to acquire land. There is no mention of the tribal agitation, Jharkhand Movement or Bodo Movement or measures to safeguard the country. Their lands are being seized and atrocities are committed on their womenfolk, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes but there is no mention about the measures proposed to be taken to safeguard the integrity of the country. How will our unity be maintained. The countrymen should understand this and make every possible effort to take the country forward. You have already said that nothing will be done without taking the people into confidence but what to talk of common people, you are not taking into confidence even the council of Ministers and two or three persons who are playing in foreign hands are tarnishing the image of the country by mortgaging it. History will never forgive them.

I strongly oppose the President's Address and urge the Government to note that the country is not their private property; they have only been entrusted the responsibility of running this Government. 80 crore people of this country have entrusted this responsibility to them. The bankruptcy is not a one day development but it is the result of the policy of capitalist system being followed for the last forty years. Owing to this defective system our country has lost its image and self respect and we have been left in a State of beggary** (*Interruptions*). Peon is not a bad word, like a 'Minister', he also serves the country and as such use of the word 'peon' is not unfair.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The word used by you is not unparliamentary but..

[English]

SHRI PIUS TIRKEY: What is wrong in it?

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is not an unparliamentary word I agree, but, at the same time, not in a good taste for a person like you to use.

SHRI PIUS TIRKEY: I withdraw it.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Those words should be expunged from the proceedings.

[Translation]

SHRI PIUS TIRKEY: However, the manner in which he is behaving, is not expected even from an ordinary person and the Prime Minister is not an ordinary person. After all the Prime Minister is a leader of 80 crore people of this country. If we have to bear poverty and undergo sufferings it should be done like a leader but my implication is that it is against the dignity of the Prime Minister to make dealings with other countries without taking his country into confidence.

**Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

[English]

SHRI PETER G. MARGANIANG (Shillong): I rise to support Motion of Thanks on the President's Address moved by Shri P. M. Sayeed. I want you first to turn to page nine, para 23 of the President's Address. I congratulate the Government for their policy on SC & ST. I am aggrieved that no mention is made about direct Christians including SC & ST Christians in the President's Address. About 15 million SC & STs have been denied their rights and privileges for conversion into Christianity. No mention has been made about bringing the Presidential order to cover them. It is very unfortunate.

They have been fighting for this cause, to bring them back into the SC & ST privileges; but no mention has been made about it in the President's Address.

A Private Members' Bill has been circulated by Mr. George Fernandes and it is unfortunate that we will have to support it. The Government should do something about inclusion of Dalit Christian in SC list.

Well, right from the time of the National Front Government, when they gave the neo-Buddhists their rights the inclusion of Dalit Christians was demanded, however, till now, nothing has been done for the SC & ST turned Christians.

Sir, para 27 on page 10 of the Address refers to the Public Distribution System. I congratulate the Government for its efforts to strengthen it. But the people of the hilly areas of the North-Eastern region, most of them, do not produce enough the rice. There is an acute shortage of rice and the Government, in order to make this system more effective should ensure that more foodgrains are supplied to that area. The present supplies are too short for the people to appreciate the effective functioning of the Public Distribution System.

I must congratulate the Government for making proper vigilance and proper vision. It is true but more food should be provided to these States of the North-Eastern region.

More commodities should be added to the Public Distribution System and that will help especially the poor people. The Government must add items like salt, edible oil, and Dal to the items being supplied by the Public Distribution System to make it more effective and to help the poor people.

Also, the Consumers Protection Act, 1986 must have more provisions to give protection to the consumers. Otherwise, we find that the consumers are being exploited by the businessmen and therefore something should be done for this.

Para 18 on page 6 of the President's Address refers to tourism. It is a very good idea and I only want to tell the Government that the North-Eastern part of India also can offer good places for the tourists to come. We have beautiful flora and fauna. We have no infrastructure, and it is yet to be developed in the North-Eastern region. The only thing that we must have is an extension of the Indian Airlines to Shillong Airport. This I have been telling the Government off and on that the Shillong Airport is fit for receiving Boeing planes. In fact, in 1988 the Government had promised to extend the Indian Airlines schedule to Shillong Airport. Somehow, that did not come about. Opening of Shillong Airport will surely help Meghalaya and other States also to boost up tourism.

Para 19 on page 7 of the Address refers to Agriculture. Many programmes and policies are there all of which I welcome. Only thing is, I would like to impress upon the Government the need to extend some help to the North-Eastern States because most of these States till today are depending on rain-fed cultivation. I am sorry to say that the ICAR though it does exist there, it is not fulfilling the work that has been given to them. They should have tested the soil there. And they should have broadened the scope to have new seeds which will reduce the cost of production. Otherwise the cost of production in agriculture in the North Eastern Region is more than anywhere else in India. Something should be done on this.

Now, I come to pages 12 and 13 para-

[Sh. Peter G. Marganiang]

graph 30. I congratulate the Government for their policies in the field of education. I only want to appeal to the Government to extend recognition Khasi language. When they recognise Manipuri language and Nepali language, they should also recognise Khasi language. Some times, we find that the Government might forget. I only remind the Government that Khasi language also has developed fully as language. It should be recognised and it should be included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution.

Lastly I come to paragraph 5 of page 2 ULFA activists. I must congratulate the Prime Minister and the Home Minister for bringing the ULFA activists to the negotiating table and also for suspending Army operation in Assam. However, I only want to remind the Government again that this problem is a humane problem and it should be solved through humane negotiation respecting the cadre, the ULFA activists, and also try to rehabilitate them properly so that their self-respect is recognised. Therefore, the Government should try to solve this problem showing respect and humane consideration to the demands made by them.

Sir, we should not forget also that in Assam we have Bodo movement. Now, promises had been given and a Committee had been appointed. On this very important issue, I hope that the Government will turn its eyes and try to bring a peaceful solution because the Bodo movement needs special consideration from the Government. I appeal to the Government to give special attention to this movement also. As time is very short I resume my seat, Thank you, Sir.

[Translation]

SHRIMATI GIRIJA DEVI (Maharajganj): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to oppose the motion of Thanks on President's Address which is devoted to forgetting all the commitments that were made in the past. I was elected to this House last year. When I heard the Address for the first time, he had said that he was extremely unhappy for the

most backward among the backwards. I consider myself as the most backward among the backwards because the women are placed at the lowest strata of the society in India, whether they belong to affluent class or the oppressed one. They are neglected everywhere.

Forty four years have passed but the condition of women remains unchanged and nothing has been done to improve the condition of women and perhaps, the suppression of women will continue unchecked in future also.

They raised the issue of price rise. Last year, they raised the issue of women as it is the sensitive section of our population. Women and Children belonging to poor families in they need in particular are the most sensitive section of our population. They need immediate attention. Several months have passed. Had will power been there, some concrete results would have come out. If the entire women class was not be uplifted, at least some steps could have been taken. Something could have been done for the welfare of women and children. But today we see the same plight of women and children as it was earlier. No concrete step or decision has been taken by this House in this direction.

For the development of women, integrated programmes like child development and universal development of child have been chalked out. Instead of emphasising on words, we should take some concrete steps particularly in this direction so that women may get some relief.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, legislations were enacted against 'Devadasi' system during the years 1934, 1935, 1942 and later on by Karnataka Government in 1982. The girls of poor families are made 'Devadasis' dedicating them to 'Mata Chellalaiah'. Truth is truth. 'Jogini' system is prevalent in Hyderabad in Andhra Pradesh. Poor girls are made 'Joginis' there. Mothers take the shelter of religion to hide their poverty and dedicate their girls to 'Chellalaiah Mata'. The name of 'Jogini' is nothing but prostitution in disguise.

have the details of it yet there are many voluntary organisations in the society which have collected data in this regard. According to them about 75 lakh to one crore women are engaged in this profession. Nobody joins this profession out of sweet will. What happens to them after they have joined this profession is known to all of us. These women are engaged in this humiliating act just to earn their livelihood. If women are considered sensitive part of the society when will the efforts be made for their development. Through you, I would like to ask it from the Government.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, it has been said that if women receive education, the development of society can take place at a faster pace. I agree with it. But if you go through the statistics of literacy, you will find that women have been a neglected lot in the matter of education in the country. There is only 40 percent literacy at national level and there are many backward States where there is only 18-20 percent literacy. Much has been said about education here. There are schools without school buildings. You want to vocationalise education. You want to introduce job-oriented education. But how are the three basic things reading, teaching and books required for education possible in schools which have no buildings. We have 13 percent such primary schools and 4.11 percent upper primary schools in the country. You may just imagine as to how the primary schools can be run without buildings. How can the science classes be conducted there? Similarly, the number of single room schools is 34 per cent whereas the percentage of single teacher primary schools is 23. These are run without teachers. The fact is in my knowledge. If a teacher is transferred, no teacher is posted for 3-4 months. The villagers have to

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wait for a longer period. Keeping in view the plight of women and standard of education, we can say that all the promises to provide education to women have been made for the sake of promises only. It has also been

stressed that tourism will be encouraged and promoted.

Bihar is my State and there is a lot of tourism potential there. It has also been said that these tourist places would be linked with rail lines. But in Bihar, most of the tourist places, namely Bodh Gaya, Rajgeer, Nalanda, Vaishali and Netrahat in North Bihar and Gandhi Ashram have not been linked with rail lines. No rail line has been laid up to Vaishali, which is a famous tourist place of Bihar. In this way, Bihar is being totally neglected. It has been said that rail lines would be extended from tourism point of view. I have raised a few issues to show how Bihar has been neglected. The promises to extend rail lines and promote tourism have not been kept.

The artistes are also part of the society. As festivals are being held for the last two years, prior to that I have been watching over T.V. that such festivals are also being organised at national and international levels in which programmes were conducted. Earlier also India was famous for its Philosophy, its technical education, its knowledge of music. But there is no denying the fact that now-a-days these things are being neglected totally. Day by day the number of artistes is going down. Our Youths take little interest in classical music. Has anybody ever gone into its causes. All the musicians barring a few irrespective of their castes, are being neglected in the society. And in the case of a woman musician, she is totally neglected. Although consumerism is there, yet she is neglected. There are a number of tribes who earn their livelihood by means of music. All the singers of Rajasthan, be they 'Langa' or puppeters and 'Nata' and 'Bhats' of Bihar, depend on music for their livelihood. The number of folk artistes is going down as they are neither recognised nor get social status. The Government has never paid any attention to them. The dancers and 'Phad gayaks' are taken to foreign countries where they show their performances but what to talk of taking them to foreign countries, even on the roads of Delhi, you will find the puppeters sleeping in a juggi by the road side. In this way, a number of artistes and 'Ghranas' are

[Shrimati Girija Devi]

sleeping in a juggi by the road side. In this way, a number of artistes and 'Ghranas' are vanishing due to lack of infrastructure.

I would like to say that the Mallick Gharana of Bihar, famous for 'Dhrupad', is also vanishing. There is no one to preserve the heritage they possess. Had the Government come forward to preserve their art, a lot of work could have been done to save the culture of India. I would like to urge upon the Government to protect the singers of Mallick and Panchog Gharanas and Nangachhia and Pachgachhia Gharanas. They will also be vanished in a number of days. No artiste would remain there to sing and play musical instruments in India.

Commemorative stamps of big leaders are released. But no such stamp of Onkar Nath has been released so far. The Congress Party had embedded its time capsule and embedded the record of his songs. I have never seen a commemorative stamp on his Guru Vishnu when I was going through his life history. In this way, the singers are being neglected totally. That is why I oppose the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address after drawing the attention to these neglected lot.

SHRI J. CHOKKA RAO (Karimnagar): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I whole heartedly support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address moved by Shri Sayeed. After formation of Government under the leadership of Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao, he has taken concrete steps to solve the economic crisis and political problems in the country. The confidence of all the Indians in him is strengthening. The Opposition leaders also think that the Government running under the leadership of Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao is functioning well to some extent. Unfortunately, some political parties in the country are thinking to win the elections and get the power. That is why the country is conforming with the problems for the last 40 years. Through you, I appeal to the opposition parties to give up political approach and adopt constructive approach to solve the

problems of the country. The Hon. Prime Minister has announced that he is ready to have issue based discussion on any issue, whatever it may be, and would like to take a decision after obtaining conscience of opinion open mindedly. But the leftist parties are not thinking properly even after he has given such assurance. I would like to appeal them to change their attitude and apprise the Hon. Prime Minister of their view point in conscience of opinion. Let it be discussed with open mind. Agitational approach will do nothing in the matter. We are facing consequences of steps taken from political angle. Thus, the political parties should ponder over it. I would like to appeal not only to opposition parties but the public of India.

Support them in this hour of hardship. After Mr. Narasimha Rao's assumption of power by elections, Punjab elections and election for corporation in Bombay have been conducted. Congress's victory in these elections shows that people have faith and sympathy with Congress and they hope that the Government will do something. But, unfortunately the opposition parties are presenting their attitude in a wrong way. I have been in politics for the last fifty years. Expressing my views with sorrow, I appeal to the opposition parties to adopt a constructive approach and to think of the country. Second thing, I want to say about Punjab election. People were not believing that elections would be held in February. But our Prime Minister stated that he was firm to hold elections and was ready to face any difficulties. He took such step and ordered to hold elections in Punjab. Our Prime Minister, who is also president of the Congress party, never appealed to vote Congress there. He said that the State should be ruled by the elected representatives of the people. All major parties took part in the elections. I congratulate them because it was a courageous act. People have elected Congress there. It has formed the Government so it has a great responsibility. But opposition should not think that they will not co-operate because the Congress Government is there. They should not also think that Congress would not do anything. In spite of being in power, we will not work there only for Con-

gress. Today, the whole country is concerned about the Punjab problem. It is a first step in Punjab. The Government of the people has come in power after elections. I hope that alongwith it, political solution will also be there and we will get success.

In the same way, we are passing through a difficult period in Kashmir. Unfortunately, our neighbouring country, Pakistan is troubling us. We have to take such a step there which may restore the confidence of Kashmiri people in us. Elections are to be held in Kashmir as were held in Punjab. Unfortunately, B.J.P. which is the main opposition party here, conducted 'Ekta Yatra' from Kanyakumari to Kashmir. It has benefited or not only B.J.P. knows. This problem does not relate to only B.J.P. It is a wrong method to get votes for the party by raising Hindu sentiments. If all parties cooperate the Prime Minister, I hope that we will succeed in Kashmir also. We have started talks with ULFA in Assam. We will find a political solution there also. Today, opposition is thinking that it will strengthen the Congress, so some people want to join agitation. But I hope that people have understood these people and they will not support such movements. We have to maintain the unity of the country. Some people are troubled by the steps taken in regard to economic reforms by the Government under the leadership of P.V. Narasimha Rao. Though, the Prime Minister himself has said in the Parliament that there is a need of some sacrifice. All the world knows about the conditions of I.M.F. and the World Bank. We are forced to seek loan so we have to agree with the conditions laid down by IMF and World Bank. There should be an alternative to it. The alternative should be of such type that if they do not provide loan, we should utilise the man power and other resources of our country and should sacrifice for few days. The rich class should reduce its expenditure on luxurious things.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, through you, I request the opposition parties to make their policies clear. What change do they wish? They should come out with constructive measures. We, the Congressmen also

recognise the importance of public sector. Our hon. Minister of State in the Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs is a trade union Leader. Today, there are few committed people in the trade unions. Not only of Congress, but of opposition also. Our Prime Minister has proposed that the sick units should be handed over to the trade unions, if these are willing to accept the challenge but no one is coming forward. Nehruji laid the foundation of public sector so it should not be weakened. It should be given full support to strengthen. In these

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[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER in the Chair]

circumstances, if the opposition challenge to take over these sick units and run these effectively then it should not waste time in mere talks. They should do it in practice and show the results.

The second thing is that the Andhra Pradesh and some other States are facing the Naxalite problem. There is a need for political solution. Much work has to be done for the progress of unemployed and the poor in the rural areas. That is why the Prime Minister has kept the portfolio of rural development under his charge. It is necessary that the work should be done for the poor.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Hanumantrao Committee Report has been submitted to the Government which has also been mentioned in the President's Address. If the Government implements those recommendations as soon as possible, we can do something for those who are below poverty line. It will remove discontent among the people but very little provision has been made in the budget presented here, for rural development, agriculture, primary education etc. Today, the Prime Minister said in reply to a question that it would be increased after some months. Much attention should be paid towards it and there is no need to seek help from the I.M.F. and the World Bank. Government should take some concrete steps. There are so many irrigation projects for which helps of crores of rupees

[Sh. J. Choudha Rao]

Prime Minister had said that only 20 per cent of the total expenditure is reaching to the people and the remaining 80 per cent is being misutilised. There is a need to check it. There is no hurdle in it. I.M.F., World Bank, Government and the officials in bureaucracy should have a set policy, a commitment. Several crores of rupees are being wasted. There is a leakage in between and the poor are not getting money due to corruption and others malpractices. It should be changed. We should improve it. You are free to utilise the foreign investment. It is not necessary to use it for manufacturing on eatable items and spent it in luxurious things. Planning is necessary to use the foreign money which is being given to remove unemployment in the rural areas under our priority sector. I hope that the Prime Minister is aware of what is going on now-a-days. He has a long experience. He has been a Minister for several years. I think he will take a very good step for it in few months. But opposition is misleading, exploiting the people in the present circumstances. Politics has spread everywhere. Politics lies in the minds whether they are at tea or at lunch. We are facing the difficulties today due to this politics. Today, all political parties should give up this dirty politics.

Our then Prime Minister, late Shri Rajiv Gandhi introduced Panchavati Raj Bill. The power should be handed over to the eighty percent people in rural areas who are agricultural labours, artisans, and the small and marginal farmers. Priority should be given in plan preparation to the people of these action. They should be given a chance to make plan and they should also have right of implementation. Only then, we can achieve our goals. We should reduce wasteful expenditure and non-planned expenditure. Parliament Members should not stay in five star hotels when they go on tour. The car owners should reduce the petrol consumption. Petrol cannot be saved by increasing the rate. Its consumption will not reduce. All officers should have a habit of walking on foot for 5-6 kilometres. Till, they are using car, they cannot understand. Some officers

practice walking with cars at India Gate and then they go home. Such people should be asked to seek compulsory retirement. You should ask us how should the money be spent which we are taking from I.M.F. and World Bank. The Government has also accepted that Dunkel proposals are not in the interest of our country. Our Minister of Commerce has asked to discuss it when a discussion is held on it. You should discharge some of your duties towards the country. We should face these difficulties today. Once more through you, I thank you and appeal to the opposition parties, and the people of this country to support the steps being taken by the Government.

[English]

PROF. K. VENKATAGIRI GOWDA (Bangalore South): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to speak on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address on the 24th February, 1992. This Address was prepared by the Government of India.

The Government expectedly overplayed its achievements and underplayed its failures and lapses. My friend Shri P.M.Sayeed while moving the motion of thanks spoke for nearly one hour. He made a brilliant speech.

In the course of his speech, he made a reference to every aspect of Indian national life, polity, economy, society, foreign policy and so on. But in the course of his speech, he diverged from the main theme of the President and mentioned several matters which were not strictly germane to the main theme.

However, I thank him for giving the guidelines.

The President, in his Address, made reference to the grim economic scenario. But he did not spell out how grim it is. Every school boy knows that the economic scenario is grim. How grim it is, is not spelled out.

At present, the inflation rate is 12 per cent. The supply of money is growing at the

rate of 15 to 18 per cent. The output is rising at the rate of 5 to 6 per cent. This excess money supply causes rise in price level.

There is unemployment in the country of the order of 5 crores. The Prime Minister said that before the end of this decade, there will be an addition of 7 crores to the Indian labour force. How to find employment to all these people is a problem for the Government.

There is black money of the order of Rs. 1,80,000 crore. We do not know how this money is generated and how it is spent. This black money feeds fuel to the fire of inflation. Fiscal and monetary controls cannot stop this menace of inflation in the economy.

There is internal debt of the order of Rs. 26,000 crore. This takes away 33 per cent of the Government revenue by way of interest payment.

There is external debt of the order of Rs. 2,00,000/- crores. This takes away 30 per cent of our export earnings towards interest payment.

All these factors made the situation grim. Apart from that, there are political problems in Assam, in Kashmir and in Punjab. All these problems are coming to be solved. The President made several suggestions to solve them.

Till now, Indian economy is guided by, what is called, the Nehruvian model. Nehruvian model retarded economic growth. This model erected two barriers to growth. They are inflation barrier and the balance of payment barrier. Nehruvian model gave us inflation and balance of payment deficit. It made us go to the World Bank and IMF for loans at frequent intervals.

Now this model is taken over by, what is called, the Rao Singh model of economic development. Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao is gentle, gentlemanly, soft and soft-spoken. His colleague Dr. Manmohan Singh has got the same virtues. These gentlemen evolved a model of economic growth which, I have

called, the Rao Singh model. They have evolved the new industrial policy. The industrial policy was announced by the Government in Parliament on 24th July last year on the day of the Budget. This is necessary for India to make progress in the modern world. India wants to enter the global market. If that is so, it is necessary. Some Members in Parliament and outside say that this is surrender to the International Monetary Fund and that this is compromise with India's dignity and honour and so on. Some people also say that this is entry policy for multinationals and exit policy for indigenous industries. This is not correct for, in a small country like Singapore with a population of only 2.5 million, there are 700 multinational companies. They are not able to control the Government at all. How can then they control Government of India which has a population of 85 crores?

Therefore, those who oppose the multinationals are anti-progressive and anti-national.

Why is industrial policy necessary? India is short of capital and whatever capital there is, is shy.

The Indian technology is out of date. The Indian managerial techniques are ante-diluvian. The foreign capital brings all these things and makes the economy grow. It is true there are some initial difficulties. But if they are overcome, India is going to make rapid progress in the world.

Sir, It is true that the Exit Policy is inherent or implicit in the industrial policy. Why is this there? Many industries in the country are sick; they are unviable; they are loss-making units. They survive because of the budgetary support given by the Government of India every year. This budgetary support is a burden on the poor taxpayer. Therefore, the result is sickness and so the Government of India is contemplating this Exit Policy. But those who leave the industry, those who are unemployed should not be left in the lurch. There is what is called the Social Safety Net to give them assistance, to give them succour. There is a National

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Renewal Fund which is of the order of Rs. 2000 crores. Those who are unemployed will be given re-training, will be given re-employment after a short period of unemployment. Therefore, this policy is good for the country. That is why I whole heartedly welcome it.

Then, what about the agricultural sector? The President has made reference to it in his Address. But it does not evolve or spell out what strategies we should follow in the matter of agriculture. In India, food prices govern the general Price Index, food prices govern the inflation rate. Whenever the food prices rise, the inflation rises, whenever the food prices fall, inflation rate also falls. Therefore, the major plank of the policy is to control inflation. It should ensure adequate food supply.

Now, I would like to refer to our Indian Planning. I draw some lessons from the Indian Planning experience. The First Plan was a tame affairs and it was farm-oriented. The First Plan was very small in size. Two years after the Plan was launched, the price level fell. There was a little balance of payments surplus. Therefore, the First Plan was a great success because of the fall in food price, because of the price policy adopted then. When the Plan was half-way through, Mr. Chou-en-Lai paid a visit to India. When he visited India, he was taken around the Indian industrial establishments. While going back his country, he invited Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to visit China. A year later, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru visited China. He was taken around the industrial establishments in China and he was very much impressed with the Chinese economic advancement. Nehruji came back to India, called his Economic Advisor Prof. Mahalanobis and asked him to prepare a Plan along the Chinese model which was based on the Russian Model, which, in turn, was based on the Feldman Model. The Plan was prepared. It was put into action in 1956.

But, unfortunately, two years later both the barriers I have referred to already came

up-the inflationary barrier and the balance of payments barrier. At that time, Shri Morarji Desai was the Finance Minister and he was going to America. In the Palam Airport, newsmen met him and asked why was he going to America. He said that he was going because he wanted to borrow money. When asked for what purpose, he said that he was going to borrow money because he had to pay the interest on the debt which he had already taken. Therefore he said that he would borrow the money, pay the interest. He came back bare-handed. This is what he said. The problems of inflation, balance of payments, external borrowing were created by the Nehruvian Model. It is a good thing that the attention has been paid to it now. Now, we have got what is called the Rao-Singh Model. Therefore, the country should adopt what is called the food supply strategy. People are under-fed. Due to shortage of food supply, prices are rising and when prices are rising, you cannot control inflation at all. If you want to control inflation, you must increase the food supply and regulate the food prices. If it is done, automatically the inflation control would become very easy.

Sir, the President has made a reference to the population policy. The population growth will put a tremendous pressure on our resources. Indian population is growing at a rate of 3 per cent per annum. Every year, there is an addition of 1.70 crores to our population. Every year, we are adding an Australia to our population.

The Prime Minister has stated that before the end of this decade there would be an addition of seven crores of people to our population. That is the problem. There is what is called the one-child family norm. We must adopt this norm as our population policy and see that India achieves the Zero Population Growth. It is only then India can prosper better. In a growing population, there are more consumers than producers. They consume what is normally saved. What is normally saved is spent on consumption. Savings fall. If savings fall, investment also falls and if investment falls, growth falls. Therefore, if you want to promote the eco-

nomie growth, you must promote investment. If you want to promote investment, you must promote savings and to promote savings you have to reduce the greater growth of population.

Because now there is population explosion and this presents a barrier for the growth. Therefore, the Government should adopt a family planning programme applicable to every region, applicable to every sections of the society. I do not say 'religion'. The other day Shri Fotedarsaid not to mix up family planning with religion. I do not mix it up at all. I say every section of the society must be asked to apply the family planning techniques to control the rate of population growth.

The President has mentioned about the revamped public distribution system. But this system is very badly managed. The fair price depots through which food is supplied, have unfortunately, become the 'unfair price depots'. There is lot of black-marketing in the fair price depots. Those who are in charge of the fair price depots do not supply the food articles to the ration card holders. They supply it to the restaurants and hotels at black-market prices and make a profit. Therefore, this system should be streamlined so that food is supplied to the poor and the downtrodden.

The President made a reference of the progress made in the field of science and technology. But he is too optimistic. Two years ago I read an article in 'Frontline' which was about 'Science Progress in India'. The article said that about an American magazine which was listed one thousand scientists but none of them is Indian. What sort of research are we doing? Our research institutes are white elephants and are taking away a lot of our poor man's money. The research is imitative and not innovative. In universities also, Government is spending a lot of money on research. But this research is trash. Most of it is trash. It is Published in journals. But nobody reads it. Therefore, the Government of India and other funding agencies should take care to see that quality

research is produced and published in scientific journals in India and abroad.

The President made a reference to the primary school education. Many of the primary schools do not have buildings at all. They do not have blackboard. They do not have furniture. They do not have teachers. Therefore, fifty per cent of the boys students who join the primary schools drop out after an year or so and 66 per cent of the girls also drop out. Therefore, primary education is the basis for the higher education. It must be streamlined and it must be based on a strong foundation. Therefore, we must see that all the primary schools are provided with good teachers, good equipment, good library, good furniture and so on.

The President made a reference about the rise in riparian disputes in the country. He had in mind, of course, the Cauvery Water Dispute. He did not spell it out. The Cauvery Water Dispute rocked the South Indian States of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu for nearly a month. On 25th June the water tribunal gave the award directing the Karnataka to release 205 TMC of water to Tamil Nadu. This agitated the farmers in the Cauvery basin area in Karnataka. On the 5th December, an all party delegation met the Prime Minister. The Chief Minister of Karnataka explained to the Prime Minister the case of Karnataka. The Prime Minister gave a patient hearing and ultimately said, "do not go to a court of law. Leave it to me." For a month or so, nothing happened. On the 5th January, an all party conference was held in Mandya I was in the delegation. It passed three resolutions. Firstly, the Prime Minister should be given a time limit within which he should settle the dispute between Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. Secondly, the order of the tribunal which has been notified in the gazette should be denotified. If these things do not happen before 19th of February, all the MLAs, MLCs and all the Members of Parliament from Karnataka should resign *en masse*. Following this Shri Rangarajan Kumaramangalam said that he would also resign and the Tamil Nadu legislators would also resign. This is an attitude of challenge

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and confrontation which does not settle our riparian dispute.

The President has said that there should be adjudication in the matter of settling the disputes. But adjudication does not solve the problems at all. The Supreme Court gave its decision and the aggrieved States do not keep quiet. They are embittered and they try to frustrate the decision of the Supreme Court.

In 1956, when Nehru was the Prime Minister of India and T.T. Krishnamachari was the Finance Minister, two Bills were moved in the Parliament, in this very House. One was the River Boards Bill and the other was Water Tribunal Bill. The approach of the River Boards Bill was conciliatory and the approach of the Water Tribunal was adjudicatory. However, the Government of India dropped the River Board Act and made use of the Water Tribunal Act and then relied upon adjudication. Therefore, Government of India should drop the Water Tribunal Act and then give life to the River Board Act and see that the disputes are settled amicably by convening a meeting of the two Chief Ministers and so on.

Ultimately on 17th of February, the Prime Minister convened a meeting of the two Chief Ministers of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu and arranged for a meeting between the two. The meeting took place in a very cordial atmosphere. At the end of the meeting, Shri Bangarappa said that it was a good beginning and the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu said that it was an exercise in futility. I do not know what she meant by that. However, I appeal to the Government of India, I appeal to Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao to convene a meeting of the Chief Ministers of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka again and then arrive at a settlement of the Dispute amicably before June because in June that trouble may start again.

I am sure that with sagacity, with far-sightedness, he will be able to make the two Chief Ministers meet again and make them

arrive at a settlement of the water dispute. Otherwise, the relationship between the two States will be embittered and there will be trouble for Karnataka and Tamil Nadu and also for the Government of India.

The President has made reference to other things also. He made a reference to the foreign policy that is what is called as SAARC. SAARC is collection of countries which are naturally hostile. Pakistan does not like India; Nepal does not like India; Bhutan does not like India; Bangladesh does not like India; Sri Lanka does not like India and the only country which likes India is Maldives. Therefore, I think that the SAARC should be given up.

There is a reference of the security aspect for India. Now, Pakistan has gone nuclear. Mr. Pressler, the American Senator visited Pakistan in the month of January and he came to India where he said that Pakistan has got a strong nuclear arsenal. We want to develop nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. India should also go nuclear, for the nuclear bomb.

In the early 1950s, when Mr. Churchill was the Prime Minister of England, he propounded the doctrine of "Defence to deterrence". He wanted to manufacture atom bomb but the Labour Party opposed it. But Mr. Churchill said that "We want to have an atom bomb not because we want to drop them on Russia or on any other country but because it is a defence through deterrence. If we have got the bomb, others won't drop bombs on us. They will be afraid to drop bombs on us. And, therefore, the bomb is necessary to defend ourselves from the foreign attack." Therefore, India should go nuclear. Unfortunately, the President has not made any reference to the India's security scenario, India's security requirements and so on.

With these amendments, I welcome the President's Address- a large part of it.

SHRI YAIMA SINGH YUMNAM (Manipur) Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose the Motion of Thanks to the

President's Address. The people of Manipur, the people of the north-eastern region of the country had been waiting very anxiously to hear, to learn and understand the President's Address. It is because they had been expecting and anticipating that some important measures will be announced in the Address in respect of the region. We understand that the President's Address is a policy statement of the Government. The measures to be taken by the Government during the coming financial year are reflected in the Address. So we had been waiting. But after the Address is given, all the sections of the people are found frustrated; not only frustrated, but disappointed also. They felt pained to learn after studying the Address that none of the measures that they were expecting is mentioned in the Address.

We must not forget that India is the Union of the States. Any ill suffered in any part of the country is suffered by all. It might be in Punjab, Kashmir, UP, Bihar, Assam or Manipur or anywhere. If there is ill in any part of the country, it will be a concern of others also. We must not forget, I particularly say the party in power or the Government at the centre must not forget, that India is the Union of the States. While perusing the Address by the President we have not been, by we, I am referring to the people of the north-eastern region, really satisfied.

I would like to present before this House that you know the north-eastern region, particularly Manipur, has borders with Burma and it occupies a very strategic position in respect of the security of the country. As we have experienced in the Chinese invasion, what we call India-China war, if the border people had been infused with patriotism, we could have been successful in many ways. But at that time they were neglected. These border States in the north eastern region were very much neglected. That is why China did have the upper hand at that time. If we leave the region as it is, neglected as it is, then the future of that part is gloomy.

Let us not repeat the mistakes committed in Punjab, in Kashmir by the Union

Government. Really some groups or sections of people of Punjab or Kashmir are found anti-national. Why did they go to that extent? The history will say that at that time they were very much neglected. That is why the group rose in arms. Likewise if the same mistake is committed even in the north eastern region, I am afraid, there might be trouble. So in this context I am making an appeal, I am urging the party in power at the Centre not to neglect these areas.

I am now coming to my amendments. My amendments are for very important measures. Firstly, let us take the language issue.

I have been stressing before this august House for inclusion of the Manipuri language in the Eighth Schedule. Today also, I am repeating the same. I think the House and some Members may feel monotonous on my repetition. But, I am helpless and I have to repeat it again today also, because we feel restless there. Our language, Manipuri is everything for the people Manipur. We have been demanding for the inclusion of Manipuri language in the Eighth Schedule, which means that the recognition of this language by the nation. It has gone to this extent that- I have to repeat it again here-thousands and thousands of people including women, students, youth and all walks of life have restored to hunger strike-of course, relay hunger strike-throughout the State, in the hill, in the valley and in the districts. *Dharmas* are also resorted to.

From today onwards, the youth, the students have restored to non-co-operation. This is yet another turning point. It may create violence and it may even cause much destruction to the people of the State. But, we are against it and we wanted to maintain non-violence. Now, it is out of our control. So, I would urge the Government to look into it and take appropriate action so that a Bill can be introduced during this Budget Session itself. It is the demand of the people and it is a very sacred demand of the people. A delegation of all the parties have met the Prime Minister and he was very much sympathetic with us. What we are expecting is

[*Sh. Yaima Singh Yumnam*]

that a Bill must be brought forward during this Budget Session by the Government. The Members of all the parties in this House are so sympathetic that if the Government presents the Bill, it will go through. This is my reading and understanding.

PROF. M. KAMSON (Outer Manipur): One very important point is there I am not opposing him. In the TV outside, my name, Kamson is displayed, when Shri Yumnam is speaking. Through you, I request that it may be corrected. Otherwise my voice will be recorded as opposing the President's Address, whereas I am in full support of the President's Address.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Are you happy?

PROF. M. KAMSON: Yes. I also support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address.

SHRI YAIMA SINGH YUMNAM: I am also happy for pointing out that my name has not been displayed. I hope it will be corrected, as pointed out by Shri Kamson.

As regards the demands of the people of Manipur in respect of this language issue, I have been again and again urging the Government at the Centre for bringing forward a Bill to this effect, during this Budget Session.

Now I am urging upon the Government to fulfil all the commitments made by the Government. It may be Rajiv-Longowal Accord or Assam Accord or any other accord.

As regards Manipur, there was a merger agreement. As you know, I have spoken in this House that Manipur was a sovereign princely State. It was merged with the Indian Union only about 40 years ago with a great hope that everything in the agreement will be fulfilled by the Government in power, I mean, on behalf of the Indian Union.

One commitment is about the language. At that time, there was a special area known as Kabow Valley. It was under Manipur when it was a sovereign princely State. Although it was a part of Burma, but it was under Manipur. But to comply with the proposals of late Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, we agreed to accede it. We sacrificed it. We made a great sacrifice because we expected that in return of that sacrifice, the people of Manipur will get more facilities. So, implement the promises made.

So far as the question of language is concerned, there is a commitment for including Manipuri language in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. It has not been fulfilled so far.

Since you have rung the bell, I would like to make some other points also. But what is the difficulty of the Union Government for including Manipuri in the Eighth Schedule to fulfil a commitment that was made in the merger agreement. So, I once again urge upon the Union Government to do the needful.

Sir, four decades of planning have elapsed but no big projects have been set up in the State of Manipur in spite of great expectations.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The time is too short. Please conclude.

SHRI YAIMA SINGH YUMNAM: I am speaking on behalf of my party. So, I would like to have more time.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: We are sitting on behalf of India.

SHRI YAIMA SINGH YUMNAM: Please allow me to continue for another five to ten minutes.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You continue for one or two minutes.

SHRI YAIMA SINGH YUMNAM: Anyway I have to conclude because you have given me time. Now I have to cover some

other points also. I would like to speak about Bodo and Karbi movement. Karbi movement is demanding an autonomous State in Assam. I consider that we have to agree to this. The Bodo movement is also there. The Government has appointed a committee to look into that and submit a report by 31st March.

18.00 hrs.

I urge the Government that it would be in the interest of the country if those reports are submitted within the time given, that is, 31st March. I would like to speak about one of my amendments. It is for shifting the Assam Rifles from Kangla which is known as a sacred place in the State. Kangla is a place of sanctity. When the British occupied Manipur, Assam Rifles were allowed to camp there and they have been occupying the area until now. It is against the will of the

people of the State. So, the people have been demanding that Assam Rifles must be shifted to somewhere else. It is also not so difficult for the Central Government, if they want to comply with it. If the State is to be kept under a peaceful atmosphere, these small things must be complied with by the Central Government immediately.

With these words, I conclude my speech though I have to leave so many points.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now the House stands adjourned to meet again at 11 AM on the 5th March, 1992.

18.02 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, March 5, 1992/Phalguna 15, 1913 (Saka).